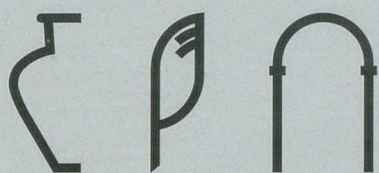


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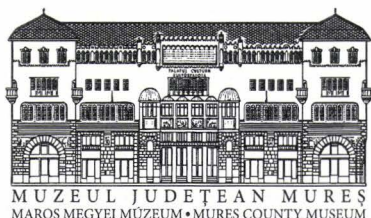
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AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN TRANSYLVANIA. THE AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVE OF TRANSYLVANIA AT THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SCIENCES OF THE EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST

Zoltán CZAJLIK*
Dávid BARTUS*
László RUPNIK**

Between 2009 and 2019 we conducted aerial archaeological research in Transylvania and in Western Romania 11 times, spending 114.85 hours in the air. The research was funded by Hungarian and Romanian research funds (OTKA, CNCS-UEFISCDI), the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University (hereafter IAS ELTE) Budapest, the Satu Mare County Museum (Satu Mare / Szatmárnémeti), the Mureș County Museum (Târgu Mureș / Marosvásárhely) and the National Museum of Union (Alba Iulia / Gyulafehérvár). More than 12 000 digital recordings were taken during the flights which will be made accessible for the scientific community via a web-based searchable database, operating on the backend server of the IAS ELTE. The terms of use include registration, accurate description of the technical details of the images in the scientific publication, and a reference to this paper and to the ID generated by the database.

Keywords: database, aerial archaeological research, Transylvania

Cuvinte cheie: bază de date, cercetare arheologică aeriană, Transilvania

AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TRANSYLVANIA

The early history of the Romanian aerial archaeological research has recently been briefly summarized by Irina Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Carmen Bem.¹ Several details and additional data on Transylvanian research of the past 30 years can be learned from the studies of Alexandre Simon Stefan² and from the review of Gabriel Emanuel Rus.³

The first aerial photographs of archeological sites in Romania were taken by Carl Schuchardt in 1918 in the area between the Black Sea and the Danube.⁴ The first systematic aerial archaeological prospections were carried out in the region of ancient Histria, between 1928 and 1943.⁵ As far as we know, the aerial photographic research in Transylvania started only a little later; Aladár

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¹ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU-BEM 2009, 62–66.

² STEFAN 1999, 261–262; 2019, 10–18.

³ RUS 2015.

⁴ OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2010, 389.

⁵ STEFAN 2019, 10–12.

Radnóti studied the western part of the *limes* in Roman Dacia on the basis of recordings taken for cartographic purposes in 1940.⁶ After World War II and until the 1980s Emil Condurachi and Dinu Adameşteanu had played an important role in this area.⁷ The former being the first director of the Archaeological Institute in Bucharest from 1954 had presented the results of several research projects – focusing mainly on ancient remains – at exhibitions abroad (Paris, Vienna).⁸ Among the results of the period up to the 1970s, the investigation of the famous prehistoric fortification system at Sântana should be pointed out, whose orthophoto taken in 1965 has already contained the basic topographical results known today.⁹ Dinu Adameşteanu, who founded the Italian National Archive of Aerial Photography (the Aerofototeca Nazionale, Rome) in 1958, assisted the Romanian research with sharing his experience with founding grants and organizing exhibitions.¹⁰ He also contributed to the establishment of an aerial photographic research department (Secția de cercetări aerofotografice și evidență centralizată a siturilor arheologice), which operated between 1978 and 1987 at the Directorate of National Cultural Heritage of the Romanian National Museum of History.¹¹ His student, Alexandre Simon Stefan, investigated 250 archeological sites in Romania between 1970 and 1986 by using orthophotos, from 1979 he supplemented the analyses with oblique photographs, too.¹² He primarily focused on prehistoric fortifications in the Timișoara–Arad area, as well as on the study of the Danube *limes* in Dobruja.¹³ Furthermore he dedicated several papers also to the

topography of ancient Histria.¹⁴ Last but not least, Ioana Bogdan-Cătănciu should be mentioned from this period, who successfully investigated not only the neighborhood of Alba Iulia but also the Danube *limes*.¹⁵

Based on this short overview, we can conclude that before the collapse of the communist regime in Central and Eastern Europe aerial archeological research in Romania stayed ahead of other former socialist countries in terms of skilled specialists and its organizational and operational background. However, research programmes barely concerned the territory of Transylvania before 1990 especially after Alexandre Simon Stefan had left the country in 1986, aerial archaeological research has been suspended also in Bucharest.¹⁶

In order to boost aerial archaeological research in former socialist countries, the AARG (Aerial Archaeology Research Group), the largest European aerial archaeological research organization, regularly organized training courses for young researchers. Ioana Oltean, who participated in one of these trainings in Hungary in 1996, has started to carry out modern systematic aerial prospection in Romania from 1998 with William Hanson (Glasgow University). Alike previous photographic investigations, their activity has mainly targeted the Dobruja Region, although important new sites have been identified in the Olt valley, in Western Muntenia and in the southern region of the Mureș Valley, in Transylvania as well.¹⁷ While previous Romanian researchers focused primarily on exploring already known sites, an important goal of their plan has been to

⁶ RADNÓTI 1946.

⁷ OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU–BEM 2009, 62–64.

⁸ STEFAN 2019, 13.

⁹ STEFAN 1999, 264; cf. GOGĂLTAN–SAVA 2010, 13.

¹⁰ OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU–BEM 2009, 62–64.

¹¹ STEFAN 2019, 15.

¹² STEFAN 1999, 261–262.

¹³ His most important publications related to our topic: STEFAN 1977; 1986; 1999; 2019.

¹⁴ Summarizing: Stefan 2019.

¹⁵ BOGDAN-CĂTĂNCIU 1996, OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU 2010, 389.

¹⁶ OBERLÄNDER-TÄRNOVEANU 2010, 389.

¹⁷ HANSON 1999; OLTEAN–HANSON 2001; HANSON–OLTEAN 2003; OLTEAN 2007; OLTEAN–HANSON 2015.

identify, map, and interpret new Roman period sites in a GIS-based environment. In addition to the conventional aerial prospection methods, recent and archive orthophotos, commercial satellite images,¹⁸ and more recently ALS technology have been involved in order to meet this purpose.¹⁹ The most significant sites investigated in the Mureș Valley are the fortifications of Micia,²⁰ Războieni and Cigmău.²¹

Since 2007 Zsolt Visy and later mostly his student, Máté Szabó have studied the eastern borders of the Roman Empire in Transylvania.²² Among the results published in popular-science literature²³ the documentation of the fortresses in Szeklerland and the results of aerial prospections conducted above snow-covered landscapes have to be pointed out, since the latter ones have not only revealed the Roman Period camps and watchtowers of the eastern *limes*,²⁴ but they also have yielded new information for mapping the prehistoric(?) burial mounds and the linear medieval ramparts.²⁵ András Sófalvi, archaeologist of the Haáz Rezső Museum (Odorheiu Secuesc / Székelyudvarhely) also provided significant data in the field of aerial photographic exploration of the Transylvanian rampart system and the medieval fortifications.²⁶

As a result of Dan Ștefan and Maria

Magdalena Ștefan work important discoveries have recently been made by implementing UAV aerial photography, e.g. in the area of Vârful lui Crai (World War I, Roman Period)²⁷ or in East Transylvania, where Late Bronze Age²⁸ and Iron Age²⁹ settlements and Neolithic and Bronze Age salt exploitation areas³⁰ were investigated.

In the last decades a promising tendency can be observed: more and more studies applying aerial archeological and remote sensing research in Transylvania are released. Beside some detailed studies about Bronze Age settlements in Western Romania³¹ the data processing work focuses on the Roman Period. Virginia Rădeanu and Florin Fodorean analyzed aerial photographs to identify Roman roads and villas in Dacia,³² Felix Marcu and George Cupcea dealt with the centuriation of Ulpia Traiana,³³ Iulia Dana Negula with her colleagues conducted very detailed remote sensing research in the area of Micia³⁴ and also the geophysical investigations at Războieni-Cetate were based partly on aerial archaeology.³⁵ One of the most important endeavors was the PoroLimes Roman landscape archaeological project around Porolissum, in the framework of which orthophotos and UAV pictures with multispectral satellite imagery and LiDAR techniques were combined.³⁶

¹⁸ OLTEAN–HANSON 2015, 890.

¹⁹ OLTEAN–HANSON 2017.

²⁰ OLTEAN ET AL. 2005.

²¹ OLTEAN–HANSON 2015, 890–892.

²² PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2011; 2014; SZABÓ 2018, 164–165.

²³ ORBÁN ET AL. 2008; PÁNCZÉL–SZABÓ 2015; VISY 2008.

²⁴ HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016.

²⁵ SZABÓ 2016, 244–257.

²⁶ SÓFALVI 2011; 2013; 2019.

²⁷ ȘTEFAN–ȘTEFAN 2014.

²⁸ ȘTEFAN–POPA 2017.

²⁹ ȘTEFAN ET AL. 2015a, 2015b.

³⁰ KAVRUK ET AL. 2019.

³¹ MARTA ET AL. 2010.

³² RĂDEANU–FODOREAN 2010.

³³ MARCU–CUPCEA 2011.

³⁴ NEGULA ET AL. 2020.

³⁵ MISCHKA ET AL. 2018.

³⁶ OPREANU 2014; ROMAN ET AL. 2016a; 2016b; 2017; ROMAN–URSU 2016.

THE AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION OF TRANSYLVANIA AT THE IAS ELTE

The Transylvanian aerial archaeological research project which we established together with Sándor Berecki started in 2009 and the last aerial picture was taken in October 2019 (Fig. 1). In contrast to most of the above-mentioned projects, we aimed to organize our work regardless of chronological aspects, we tried to document – and if it was possible, to detect new – archaeological sites from the prehistory to the modern ages. Bearing in mind the latter purpose our prospections were planned mostly for the early summer period. For similar reasons we also tried to arrange flights during snowy, leafless periods, however these missions mostly failed because of the uncertain weather conditions during or at the end of the winter season. The best-studied zone of our prospection flights

is the central, widening part (vale) of the Mureş Valley, where both climatic conditions and the large-scale agriculture proved to be favorable for the identification of crop marks. Beside the Roman settlements, which are relatively easy to detect, we tried to perform a more complete documentation of the Celtic settlements and cemeteries, as well as of fortifications and burial mounds of various periods in whole Transylvania. We participated in the aerial documentation of the rescue excavations prior the construction of the south Transylvanian highway.

In addition to the exhibitions organized in Transylvania (Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely and Alba Iulia / Gyulafehérvár) and in Hungary (Budapest, Komárom, Nagykanizsa, Keszthely), we have continuously reported on our results

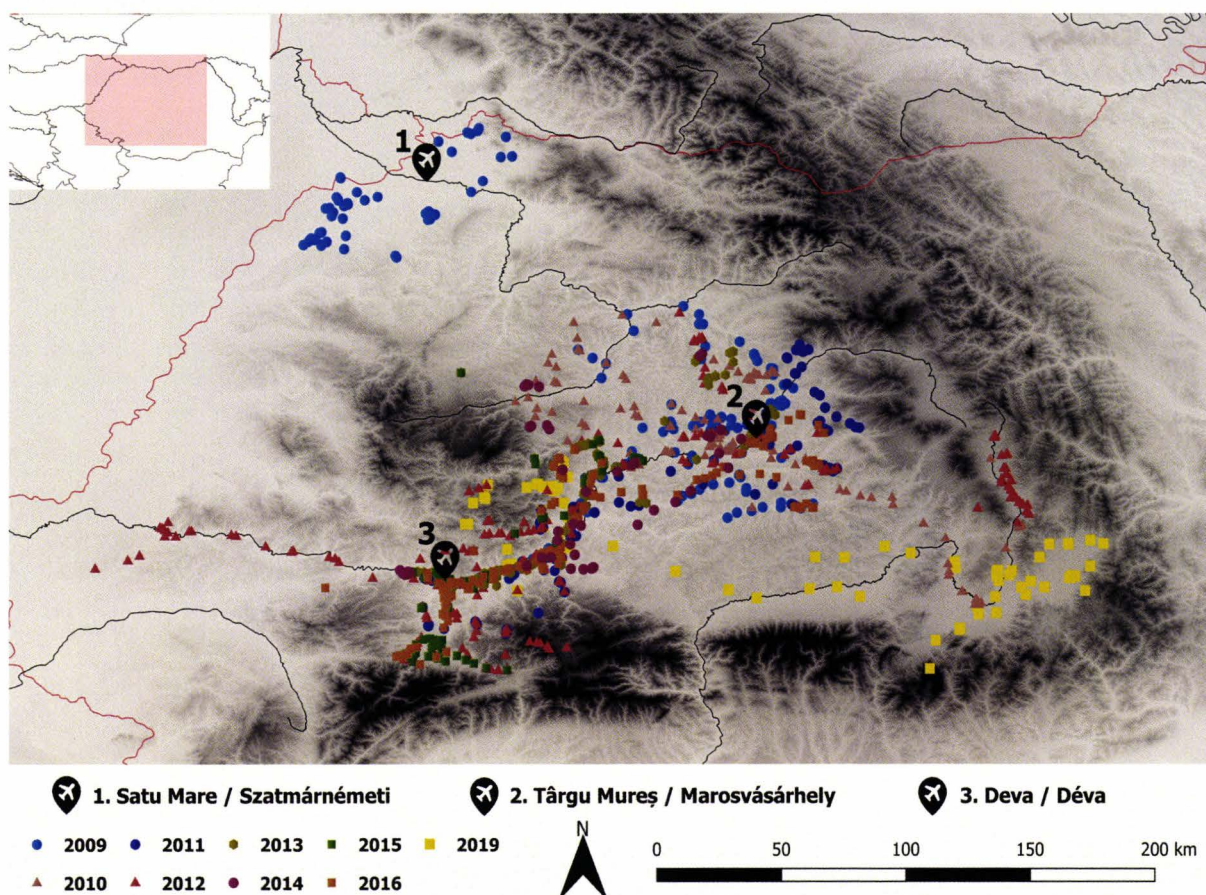


Fig. 1. Aerial Archaeological Investigations of the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University (2009–2019; airfields, archaeological sites)

in scientific publications and conferences,³⁷ and released several popular science articles.³⁸ Since 2014, our colleague from Târgu Mureş, Sándor

Berecki, has also been taking aerial photographs by himself, related to his Celtic landscape archaeological project.³⁹

TECHNICAL BACKGROUND

The prospections (Fig. 2) were organized by Sándor Berecki and Zoltán Czajlik, but researchers from several Transylvanian museums (Mariana Egri, Iosif Vasile Ferencz, Zsolt Győrfi, József Gábor Nagy, Aurel Rustoiu, Gabriel Rustoiu, Sándor József Sztáncsuj) participated in the preliminary data collection process. During the project – with one exception – we always flew with CTSW ultralight aircraft (2009–2013: with the plane registered as D – MDVD, 2014–2019: with the aircraft having a tail number Y – 5122), the pilot has always been Simion Câmpian. In 2009 in Satu Mare county we had a Diamond type low-wing aircraft (registration number YR – EDC), the aviator was Eugen Chincea. During the prospections we worked with Nikon DSLR cameras (Nikon D300 and from 2019 D750 cameras, Nikkor 24–70 mm f2,8G ED and from 2019 24–120 mm f4G ED lenses). The navigation was based on the aircrafts built-in Garmin GPS and on photos taken on ground, the coordinates

were recorded with Garmin GPSs connected to the cameras and with continuous Garmin GPS track recording. Since 2019 we have been using a smartphone and a safety (secondary) GPS tracker for navigation and for the track recording. The primary identification of the photos and the arrangement of the data in Excel spreadsheets (and later into the Aerial Archaeological Database) were performed by László Rupnik.

One of the fundamental problems we had to face during the research was – paradoxically – the increasing size of the Aerial Archaeological Archive, which had to be urgently transformed into a GIS database. Issues like supporting our project partners' work, providing up-to-date access to the continuously archived and systematically organized data during aerial prospections and field work raised more and more questions regarding steps from planning flights through primary data processing to establishing efficient search options.

Date	Base	Flight hours
18–19 June 2009	Satu Mare / Szatmárnémeti	7.15
26–28 June 2009	Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely	18.75
8–10 June 2010	Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely	13.25
22–23 June 2011	Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely	10.8
23 March 2012	Deva / Déva	2.9
17–19 June 2012	Deva / Déva	15.3
2–4 July 2013	Deva / Déva	11.8
7–8 July 2014	Deva / Déva	7.75
1–2 July 2015	Deva / Déva	6.75
1–5 July 2016	Deva / Déva and Târgu Mureş / Marosvásárhely	11.9
16–18 October 2019	Deva / Déva	8.5
Total: 11 campaigns	29 days	114.85 hours

Fig. 2. Aerial Archaeological Investigations of the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University (2009–2019; summary of the campaigns).

³⁷ CZAJLIK ET AL. 2011; 2014; 2018; BERECKI ET AL. 2012; 2013.

³⁸ CZAJLIK 2009, 2012b; 2012c; 2012d; 2012e; 2013; 2019; BOTÁR–CZAJLIK 2012; NAGY–CZAJLIK 2012.

³⁹ BERECKI 2015.

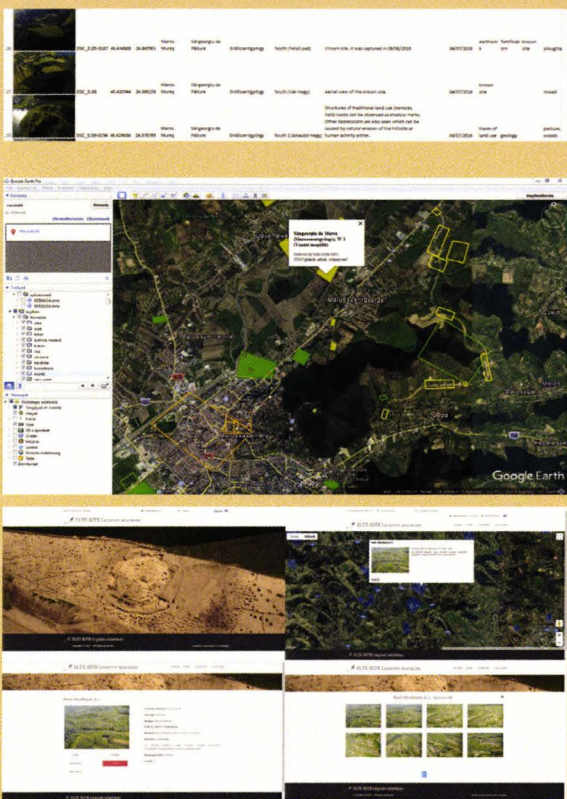


Fig. 3. Aerial Archaeological Database of Transylvania at the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University.

STRUCTURE AND USE OF THE AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATABASE OF TRANSYLVANIA (FIG. 3)

Due to the complexity of the task, building a completely new database system and developing an online administrator and user frontend was the most practical solution for storing and visualizing the Aerial Archaeological Archive and the GIS data related to the aerial photos. The PHP-SQL backend runs on the ELTE's own server, the database contains all available information on both the photos and the photographed sites. One of the basic feature of the web-based frontend interface is the possibility of displaying and making searchable the polygons of the various sites on an interactive map, which uses Google Maps Javascript API. In addition to map view, users can perform simple and complex searches, create various filters and query lists by gathering data on a specific area, period, or archaeological feature. All the information available related to these selected elements in the database, as well as the uploaded

photos can be displayed according to different principles and sorting criteria.

The system offers five different user levels, while the administration interface serves also as a content management (CMS) interface. Each user level can be geographically restricted, i.e. a researcher can get permission for a country, county, or just for a site, hence, the lengthy process of requesting and sending photos that had previously happened via e-mail can be greatly simplified and automated. Editing, correcting, deleting the full range of information in the database, as well as adding and uploading new data, photographic missions, sites, or photographs can be achieved through the same web interface. Polygons that record the spatial data of the sites can also be freely edited in the administration interface thanks to KML files created dynamically from the SQL database. On the admin interface it is possible

to assign separate notes to each photo, which may later help the scientific interpretation. The checkable and traceable use of the system is supported by a tool that, just at the touch of a button, allows to generate and download data sheets in PDF format which contain all the relevant information, thumbnails of the photographs and all related bibliographic references. The bibliographic data listed on these sheets are queried from a separate bibliographic database

integrated into the system. On each PDF data sheet there is a system generated reference ID, by which they can be unambiguously and professionally cited in publications and presentations.

The Aerial Archaeological Database, can be managed and displayed by countries or smaller administrative units (county, province, etc.), furthermore, if needed, it can be extended in any spatial direction. All functions of the Database are available in both Hungarian and English.

FINAL REMARKS

Field access to the Aerial Archaeological Database of Transylvania is also possible by using mobile devices, therefore, from 2019 on we use smart phones with screens of high brightness. All the data necessary for the surveys can be previously downloaded to these devices and due to their built-in GPS tool they are able to display the position of the aircraft and of the destinations continuously. Similarly to the solutions used during the earlier flights in Transylvania, this method can completely substitute the traditional and time-consuming map-based navigation, – which was one of the main aims of the development.

Comparing to flat and hilly landscapes, aerial photography in Transylvanian valleys where mostly small-scale agriculture is practiced, or in mountainous regions which are often covered by forest or grazing lands, or sometimes having a rocky surface, is a different task both in terms of weather conditions, aeronautical and

photographic techniques. Distinguishing natural and human impacts in the archaic landscape, and separating those of archaeological importance is a long learning process that requires detailed analysis. This has drawn our attention to fundamental problems in the identification of sites difficult to detect and outline, and hereby it has triggered small but very important technological changes in data collection, flight methodology and primary processing strategies.⁴⁰ An implication of this process is the Aerial Archaeological Database of Transylvania itself, which, based on its structure and size, is suitable for applying and testing further development ideas. In the course of its development our aim was to establish a system which is easy to extend and upgrade and provides a research-friendly environment. We are looking forward to the feedback of all our registered users who are willing to share with us their experiences, critical and helpful comments.⁴¹

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support was provided by the Institute of Archaeological Sciences of the Eötvös Loránd University, the Satu Mare County Museum, the Mureș County Museum and especially the National Museum of Union (Alba Iulia / Gyulafehérvár).

⁴⁰ CZAJLIK ET AL. 2014.

⁴¹ Registration is processed after sending an e-mail to the following address: aaa@btk.elte.hu

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A NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT FROM TÂRGU MUREȘ.

II. THE COURTYARD OF THE UNIVERSITY

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During the excavations in the courtyard of the former “Petru Maior University” (Târgu Mureș, Nr. 1 Nicolae Iorga Street), traces of an Early Neolithic settlement were documented. The ceramic material dated to the IIIA–IIIB phase of the Criș Culture is contemporaneous with the archaeological finds unearthed on the territory of the adjacent fortress. This paper presents the archaeological materials found in 2009 in the courtyard of the university as well as the relation between the two archaeological sites.

Keywords: settlement, pottery, Early Neolithic, Criș Culture

Cuvinte cheie: așezare, ceramică, neolitic timpuriu, cultura Criș

During archaeological researches undertaken by the Mureș County Museum in the last decades within the administrative boundaries of Târgu Mureș several new prehistoric sites have been identified, among which two Copper Age sites, the one from Târgu Mureș–*Parcul Sportiv*¹ and the other, yet unpublished, from Târgu Mureș Shopping City. Early Neolithic settlements have been investigated on the territory of the Târgu Mureș fortress.²

Significant information regarding the Neolithic era were, however, provided by archaeological investigations in the courtyard of the former central and administrative building of “Petru Maior University” (built in 1871 as State Public Boys’ School, today it belongs to the “George Emil Palade University of Medicine, Pharmacy, Science and Technology of Târgu Mureș”), where a considerable amount of ceramic material was collected from a rather small area.

Here, on the occasion of some public utility works in 2009, a ditch of considerable dimensions was unveiled, from which a large amount of Neolithic pottery was recovered together with animal bones.³ The stratigraphy was as follows: under the asphalt and the asphalt bed (0.10–0.20 m) there was a 0.70 m thick black-brown modern layer, below which, at a relative depth of 1–1.15 m, there was the dark brown Bronze Age layer. The Neolithic level consisted of a clayey yellow layer at 1.15–1.30 m, below which the sterile yellow clay was found. In some places, the archaeological research had already been compromised by the advanced stage of foundation diggings, ongoing before the arrival of the archaeological team. Even so, archaeological excavations have managed to identify Neolithic, Bronze Age (?) and modern (contemporary with the construction of the building in 1871) archaeological complexes.

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¹ BERECKI–SZTÁNCsUJ 2011.

² BERECKI–HÁGÓ 2019, with further bibliography and the history of research.

³ see KELEMEN 2020.

The most significant complex in this site was Cx.4 (Pl. I), which was interpreted as a large-size natural ditch with an uneven, relatively smooth slope, having an east-west inclination, with small consecutive natural steps (Pl. I/6). The deposition of the archaeological material indicates that the ditch was used during the Neolithic as a refuse pit. In addition to the ceramic and osteological material slipped on the slope of the ditch, in the Neolithic layer three agglomerations of ceramics were identified: Cx.4/1, Cx.4/2 și Cx.4/3 (Pl. I/1–3).

The dimensions of the complex could not be calculated exactly, because to the west (towards the fortress wall), where the bottom of the ditch was supposed to be, it exceeded the perimeter affected by the foundation of the new construction, and to the north the ditch was intersected and compromised by the trench of a contemporary pipe and a modern epoch wall. However, the research recorded that the ditch had the long axis in the E–W direction, of which 8 m were investigated, and the width in the N–S direction, 11 meters of it being studied on this occasion.

The slope of the ditch was indicated by the sterile yellow clay at the base of the Neolithic layer (1.30 m from the current level), and which deepens by a smooth slope down to 2.20 m, the filling having an average thickness of 0.60 m. The layer dated to the Bronze Age also follows the curved line of the ditch, suggesting that the final flattening occurred in the modern era.

The archaeological material discovered in the Neolithic settlement from the courtyard of the university consists of a large amount of ceramic material, yet very fragmented, without any whole or restorable vessel. Most of the ceramic material is without ornaments; rarely, simple but culture-specific ornaments appear. Most of the ceramic material is of medium quality, all three pottery categories are represented: coarse, semi-fine and fine.

The pottery is made of good quality and well-cleaned clay, tempered with mud, sometimes mixed with chaff or other plants, pebbles and shards. These tempering materials are mainly present in the coarse and semi-fine category. Fine pottery is rare; it was usually

tempered with sand and shards or fine sand.

In most cases the surface of the vessels is well smoothed, less often slightly smoothed or uneven. In some cases they were polished, other times the slip was present, now fallen. It should be mentioned, that the smoothing of the surfaces of the vessels differs, depending on their shape and size. In the case of storage vessels semi-smoothened surfaces predominate; other times their surface was coarse, while in the case of medium-sized or small cooking vessels and tableware the surfaces were fine smoothed.

Most vessels were fired in reducing atmosphere, other show characteristics of oxidizing firing. Signs of poor firing are also present seldom, and sometimes also traces of secondary firing, caused by direct use on fire could be observed. Due to the reductive firing the most common colours are the different shades of brown (light brown, dark brown, spotted brown, yellow, spotted yellow), grey or black-grey, while the vessels with oxidizing firing were brick-red, spotty brick-red or orange.

The sizes of the different types of pottery are diverse, all dimensions being represented. The diameters of the rims of the small vessels are between 70 and 100 mm; in the case of medium vessels it is between 100 and 200 mm, while the diameter of the large vessels' rim is between 200 and 280 mm.

The most frequent types are storage vessels. These are coarse wares with a good firing, with a slightly smoothed or rough surface, without ornaments, the thickness of the walls between 35 and 50 mm. The rims of these pots are straight or slightly everted, their profiles are straight or S-shaped, and the bottoms are straight. Pots are large or medium sized vessels with straight or slightly everted rims; most of them are barrel- and sack-shaped. They are slightly smaller than storage vessels and their wall is thicker. The surface of the pots is well smoothened, some fragments were ornamented with finger impressions, cordons or finger pinches (Pl. II/2–3, 5–6; III/4, 10; IV/2, 4, 24; V/12; VI/12–14).

Globular vessels with a cylindrical neck with an everted rim and a straight bottom are present in a smaller number. Their surface is smoothened; some of these vessels were ornamented

with knobs (Pl. III/3). Deep bowls are also rare forms in this site, these were fine and semi fine wares with well-smoothed surface sometimes even polished and with brown slip, which has only been partially preserved. Most of the fragments of deep bowls were not ornamented (Pl. III/8, 9; V/4–6, 9).

Another category of wares, which is relatively common in Criş settlements, is the ring bottom vessel. This type of pottery is usually medium-sized; the semi-fine wares have a smooth surface, sometimes even decorated with specific motifs, but in our case it is without ornaments. In the complex discovered at Târgu-Mureş such vessels are rare and they do not present traces of any ornament (Pl. IV/12–13, 15, 22).

Some ceramic fragments that come from more special vessels should be also mentioned. They are represented by one or two fragments: shallow bowl (Pl. IV/3), fruit bowl or cup with foot (Pl. IV/29; V/16), or vessels with cylindrical bottom, probably also fragments of fruit bowls (Pl. V/16; VI/15–17). One fragment from a semi fine bowl ornamented with pinches (Pl. V/1) was also found, while some shards belonged to medium sized bi-truncated vessels (Pl. V/2, 20).

Among the special objects a token made from the wall of a fine pot with red slip (Pl. IV/26) and a coarse fragment from an unidentified pottery type with rounded corners (Pl. IV/34) can be mentioned.

Most of the pottery, especially the storage vessels and large pots are not ornamented. Smaller pots and a few fragments of deep bowls or the bi-truncated vessels were decorated with simple motifs: pinches (Pl. IV/39; VI/1–3, 13), nail impressions (Pl. V/1), finger impressions on the body of the vessel (Pl. II/4; IV/4) or impressions on the rim (Pl. II/1–3, 6; III/2; IV/4; VI/4,

12, 14) and beneath the rim (Pl. II/5; IV/1; V/18–19), cordons with round impressions, applied vertically (Pl. III/4; VI/5, 10) and horizontally (Pl. IV/40) on the body of the vessel, cordon with pinches (Pl. IV/37; VI/9), horizontally applied double oval knobs (Pl. III/3), ear of wheat pattern ornament (Pl. IV/7), lentil shaped short incisions (Pl. IV/6), cuts (Pl. VI/8).

Different sized knobs, especially the smaller ones placed under the rim or on the shoulder of the vessels, can be interpreted as ornaments. Usually these knobs are circular, oval or with a rib (Pl. II/6, 8; IV/4, 25, 27–28, 30, 35–36); some of them are in pair (Pl. III/3). One of the knobs had a circular impression (Pl. IV/38). Large circular buttons placed close to the bottom or around the maximum diameter of the vessel, more likely had a functional role in handling the pots (Pl. IV/3; IV/33). Probably perforations had also a rather functional (repairing) than aesthetic role (Pl. II/9; III/1).

The number of handles found in the feature is small. The few fragments have circular shape, their tip is rounded or ribbed. These perforated handles belong to fine and semi fine storage vessels (Pl. IV/31–32).

The shapes and the ornaments of the vessels discovered in the courtyard of the university are characteristic for the early Neolithic Starčevo–Criş–Körös settlements from Central and Eastern Europe. Storage vessels are common forms and they appear in all of the settlements from this period, as well as the globular pots. Analogies can be mentioned from Endrőd 3/119,⁴ Ecsegfalva–Site 23,⁵ Hódmezővásárhely–Kotacpart–Vatatanya,⁶ Ernei–Köles-kert,⁷ Dudeştii Vechi,⁸ Gura Baciului,⁹ Leţ–Vârhegy,¹⁰ Moreşti–Podei,¹¹ Ocna Sibiului–Triguri,¹² etc.

The second most frequent forms are the pots, discovered both at Târgu Mureş and in

⁴ MAKKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 311–314.

⁵ OROSS 2007, 508, fig. 27.25. 2–3; 27.26. 1, 3–5; 27.26. 6–7; fig. 27.10. 1–8, fig. 27.11. 1–3 (globular vessels).

⁶ KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XXI/3–5; XXII/2, 3; XXIX/6, 7.

⁷ BERERCKI–SZTÁNCZUSZ 2019, pl. IV/5; VI/1,2 (globular vessels), IV/9, VI/6,7 (storage vessels).

⁸ KUTZIAN 1944, pl. XXI/1–2.

⁹ CIUTĂ 2005, pl. LX/1–4.

¹⁰ ZAHARIA 1962, fig. 14/19, 20; 15/6–8.

¹¹ LAZĂR 1995, pl. XLVIII/2, 9, 12, 13.

¹² CIUTĂ 2005, pl. XXXII/7; XXXIII/1; XXXVII/1–5.

other contemporaneous sites. They differ from storage vessels in size, but when the pottery is so fragmented as in the case of the shards from Târgu Mureş they can hardly be ascribed to either one of the two categories.

In this chronological sequence deep bowls are not very frequent in the Criş settlements, and only few fragments are known from Târgu Mureş also. Usually they appear as tableware; similar forms are known from Ernei–Köles-kert,¹³ Ecsefalva–Site 23,¹⁴ Hódmezővásárhely–Kotacpart–Vata-tanya,¹⁵ Moreşti–Podei,¹⁶ Ocna Sibiului–Triguri,¹⁷ Ostrovu Golu II–III, etc.¹⁸

Ring-bottomed vessels are frequent finds of the Criş culture, with analogies in almost all the sites of the period: Szarvas–Site 8/23,¹⁹ Endrőd–Site 3/35 and Site 3/119,²⁰ Ecsefalva–Site 23,²¹ Hódmezővásárhely–Kotacpart–Vata-tanya.²² Shallow bowls and fruit bowls are known from Ecsefalva–Site 23,²³ Endrőd–Site 3/319,²⁴ Banat (with flat or globular upper part), but also in other parts of Romania.²⁵

Based on the forms and ornaments of the pottery, four phases with several sub-phases were defined for the Starčevo–Criş culture.²⁶ In the first period of the culture (IA–IC) settlements are known especially from Oltenia, Banat and Western Transylvania. Only in the second phase (IIA–IIB) the expansion of the culture reaches the Middle Mureş Valley. During

the 3rd phase (IIIA–IIIB) the influence of the Vinča culture can be observed and in the same period settlements appear on the upper course of the Mureş River as well as in central and south-eastern Transylvania. The north-western part of Transylvania and the territory east of the Carpathians were populated only in the final IIIB–IVA phases of the culture.²⁷

In the IIIA phase the most frequent tempering material was chaff, but sand or crushed shards and pebbles were also used, while fine sand only rarely seems to have been preferred. Usually, the surface of the vessels was well smoothened, sometimes it was also polished. When ornamented, finger and nail impressions, short cuts could be observed, in a smaller proportion barbotine also appears on the pottery surface. The most frequent are the applied ornaments, the simple or impressed cordons, cordon segments, knobs, etc. In the IIIB phase the predominant temper material was sand and crushed shards, the firing was intensive, while the ornaments are the same as in the earlier period, with a decrease in the presence of barbotine, which, when applied, was unevenly spattered.²⁸

Based on the forms and ornaments of the pottery, the Neolithic level from the fill of the natural ditch researched in the courtyard of the university dates from the IIIA or the beginning of the IIIB phase of the Criş culture. Based

¹³ BERECKI–SZTÁNCZSÚJ 2019, pl. IV/1, V/9.

¹⁴ OROSS 2007, fig. 27.12/1, 3.

¹⁵ KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. XXI/4.

¹⁶ LAZĂR 1995, pl. XLVIII/3, 6.

¹⁷ CIUTĂ 2005, pl. XXXIV/2, 3.

¹⁸ LAZAROVICI 1979, 65–66; DRAŞOVEAN 1981, 39; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 96–99; 102; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 3, type IB4.

¹⁹ MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 57/1.

²⁰ MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 181/1/14; 275, 3/119.

²¹ OROSS 2007, fig. 27.3/3; 27.13/1–2.

²² KUTZIÁN 1944, pl. I/2; XX/1a–b.

²³ OROSS 2007, 27.4/1–8.

²⁴ MAKAY–STARNINI 2008.

²⁵ LAZAROVICI 1979, 48, 65–66; DRAŞOVEAN 1981, 39; LAZAROVICI–MAXIM 1995, 96–99, 102; CIUTĂ 2002, fig. 7–8; MAKAY–STARNINI 2008, fig. 5, 12, Types II.

²⁶ MILOJČIĆ 1949; LAZAROVICI 1969; 1977; 1979; 1984; 1993; 2005; MAXIM 1999, 33–63; LUCA ET AL. 2010, 104, table 1; LUCA ET AL. 2011, 103–119.

²⁷ BADER 1968, 381–388; URSULESCU 2000, 15–22; HÁGÓ 2005, 5–34; LUCA ET AL. 2011, 108–110, 113–114; BERECKI–HÁGÓ 2019, 7–30; BERECKI–SZTÁNCZSÚJ 2019, 34.

²⁸ MAXIM 1999, 45–46.

on radiocarbon data the finds can be dated between 5800/5700 and 5600/5000 BC.²⁹ The finds are contemporaneous with the settlement from Ernei–Köles-kert,³⁰ Batoş–Gledinel,³¹ Cipău–Dâlma,³² Iernut–Bideşcutul Mare³³ or Moreşti–Podei.³⁴

All the pottery forms and ornaments found in the courtyard of the university were

represented in the Neolithic settlement from the territory of the neighbouring Târgu Mureş –Fortress site too, dated to the same IIIB phase of the Criş culture.³⁵ Therefore, the natural ditch with Neolithic pottery from the courtyard of the university most probably marks the eastern margin of the settlement from the plateau of the fortress.

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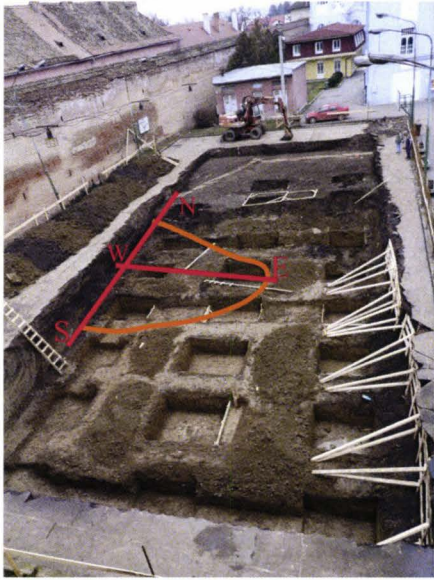
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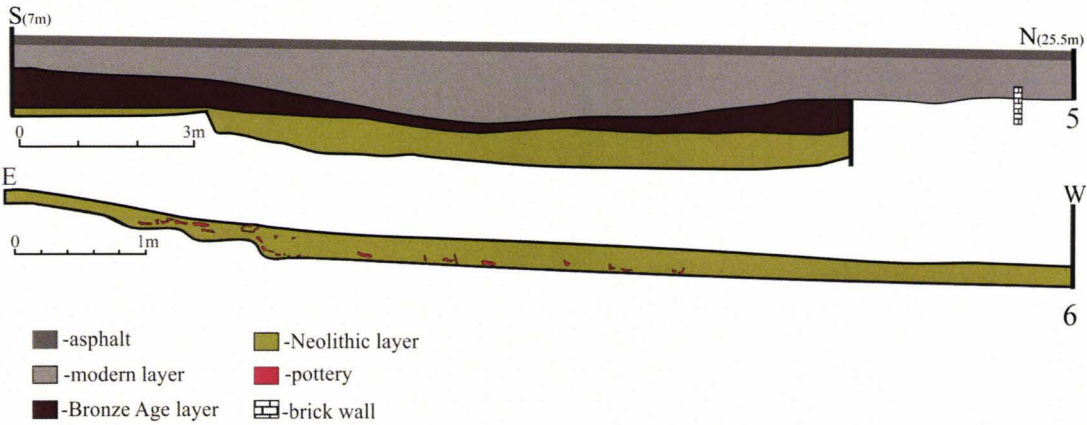
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6

Plate I. Târgu Mureş, – University.

1. Cx.4/1; 2. Cx.4/2; 3. Cx.4/3; 4. The researched area and the location of the Neolithic ditch; 5. The N–S profile of the archaeological site and the Neolithic ditch; 6. The E–W profile of the Neolithic ditch.

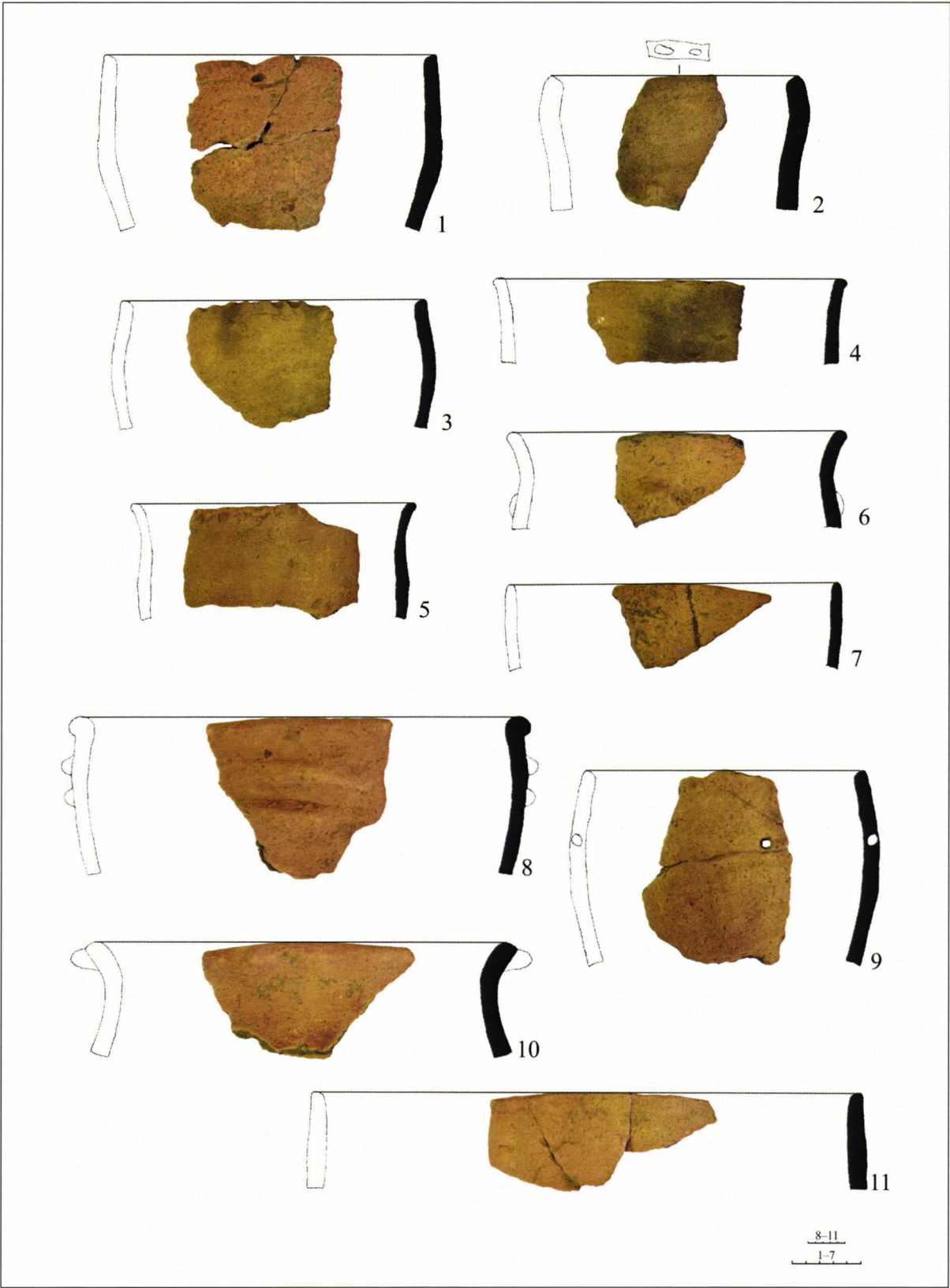


Plate II. Târgu Mureş–University. Cx.4/1–4.



Plate III. Târgu Mureș–University. Cx.4/1–4.

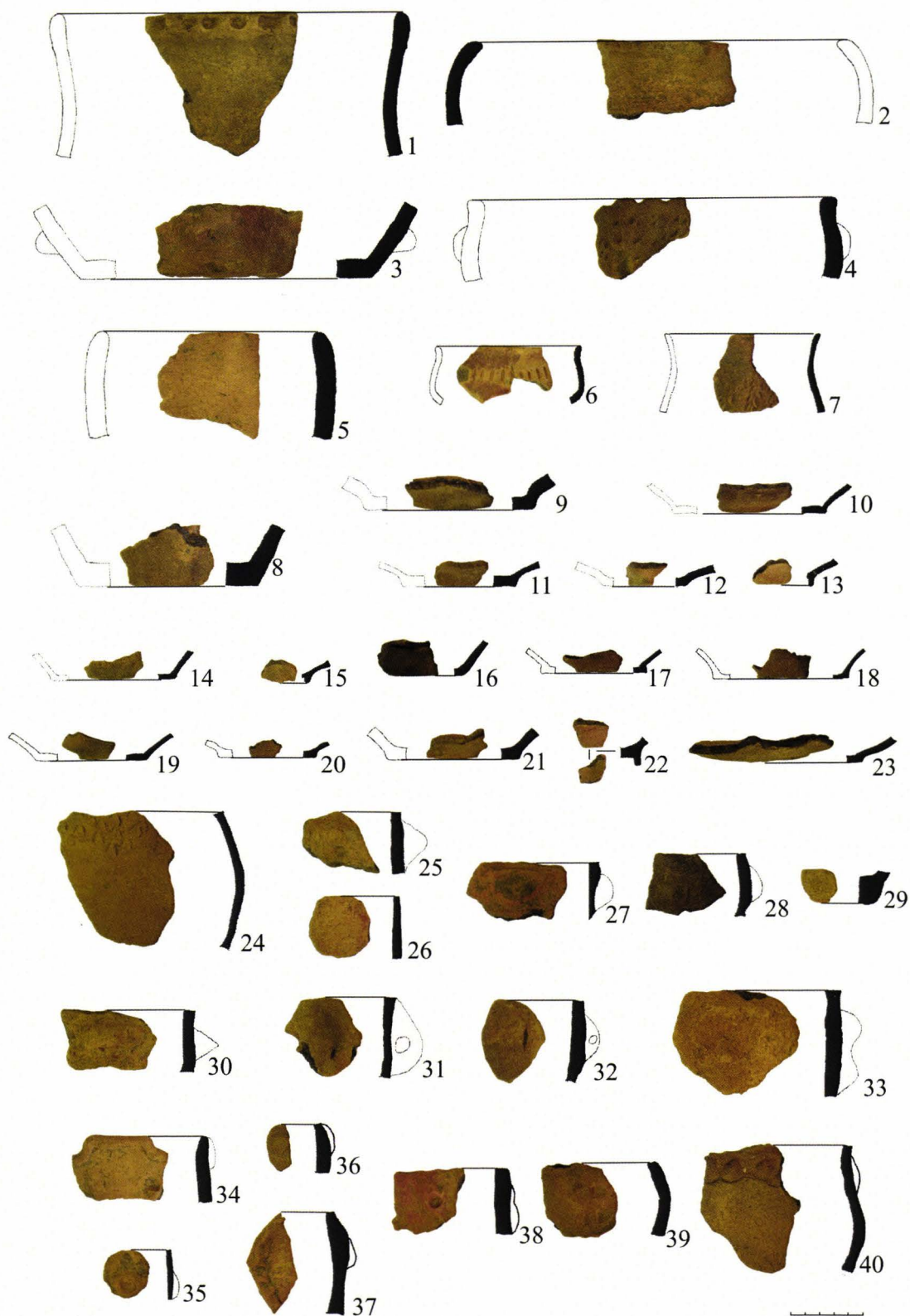


Plate IV. Târgu Mureș–University. Cx.4/1–4.

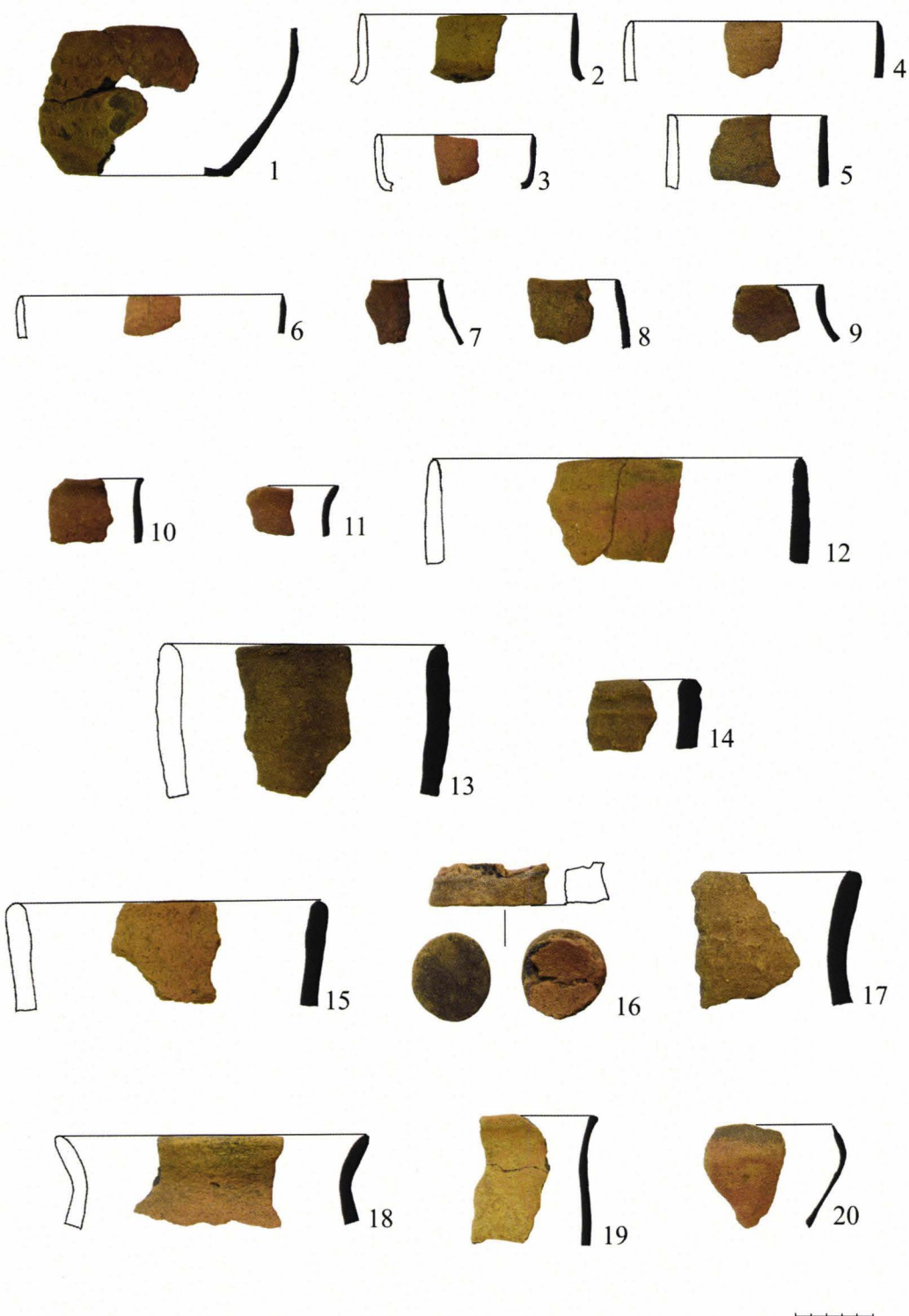


Plate V. Târgu Mureș-University. Cx.4/1-4.

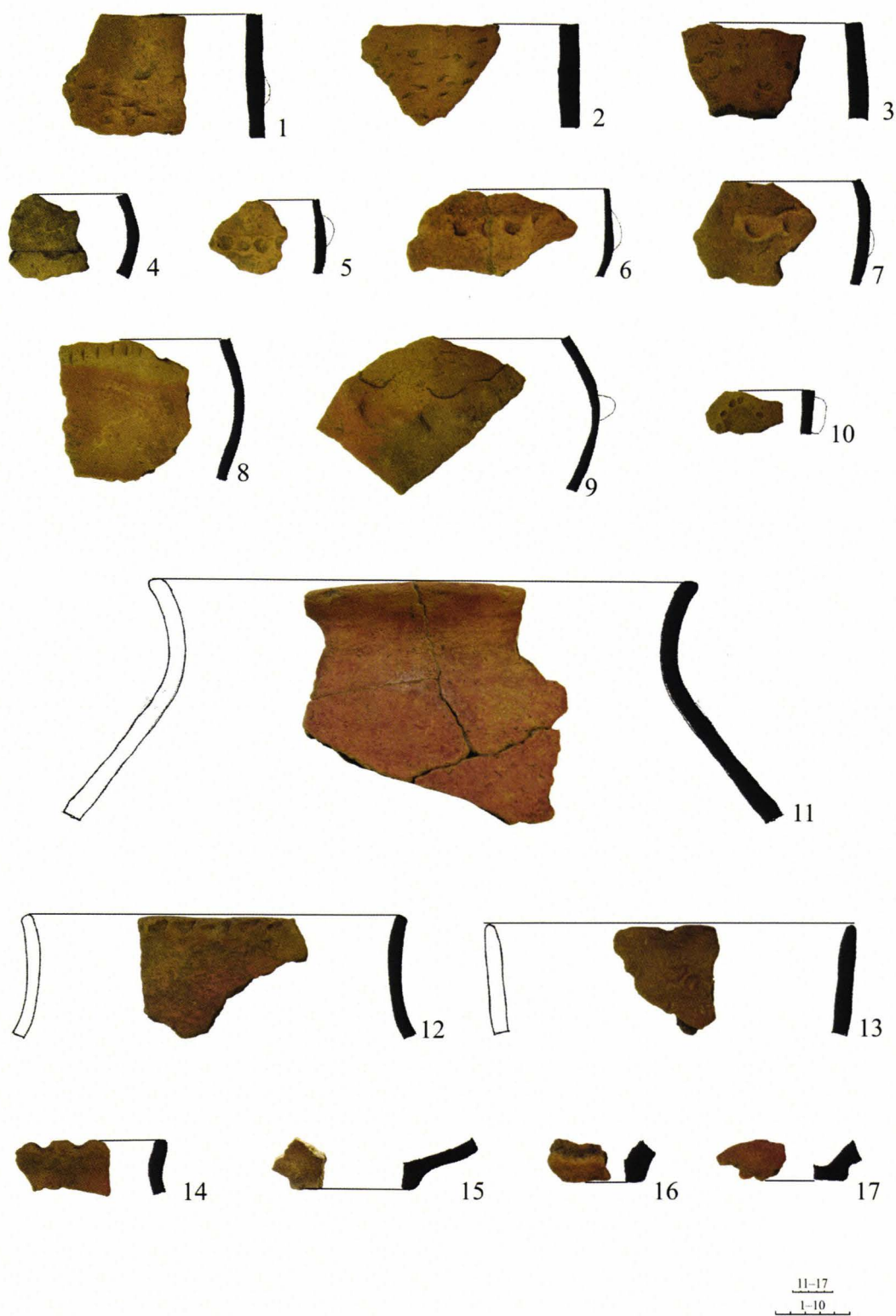


Plate VI. Târgu Mureş–University. Cx.4/1–4.

NEOLITHIC ARCHAEOZOOLOGY AT TÂRGU MUREȘ

Imola KELEMEN*

The small number of animal remains (60 fragments) discovered at the Neolithic site of Târgu Mureș have a kitchen midden aspect and except for one pig vertebra all come from wild and domestic individuals of Bos sp. (cattle and aurochs). The material outlines a population with a balanced maintenance based on both hunting and animal husbandry, possibly in the midst of domestication.

Keywords: archaeozoology, animal remains, Neolithic, Criș culture, aurochs
Cuvinte cheie: arheozoologie, resturi animaliere, neolitic, cultura Criș, bour

The animal bones identified at the Neolithic site in the courtyard of the former Petru Maior University in Târgu Mureș have all come from a single feature interpreted as a natural ditch. 60 animal remains were collected, all of them being in a strongly weathered and fragmented state. With only one exception, an atlas belonging to a pig (*Sus scrofa*), all were identified as from the *Bos* genus, either the *taurus* (domestic cattle) or the *primigenius* (aurochs) species. Separating the two of them on the anatomical level is very difficult in general, and particularly in this period when domesticating is in its full progress. In some cases we were able to differentiate them, the rest on the other hand were handled in the common group of *Bos sp.* The animal remains have the aspect of kitchen middens: several cutmarks were visible on one of them and a cattle's *humerus* was clearly broken up for the marrow in it. None of the bones have visibly gone through boiling or burning processes.

Bos taurus/primigenius (cattle and aurochs). Separating the bones of aurochs from those of the domesticated individuals is a difficult task in all periods, but especially in materials from

the Neolithic, since this is exactly the time of the cattle's domestication. The two species' anatomical characteristics and in particular the morphology of their bones have not yet changed enough to classify them as *taurus* or *primigenius*.¹ Domesticated males can have the same proportions as wild females, or adult domestic individuals the same as not fully grown wild ones. To avoid any confusion, those remains that could not have been classified in neither of the species (see metrical data in Table 3) would be managed in the common group *Bos sp.*

Among the cattle, a minimal number of five individuals have been identified: an infant, a juvenile, two subadults and an adult. On the other hand, only one adult aurochs has been denoted in the lot. On one cattle bone, a *tibia*, some cut marks were visible, and another, a *humerus*, has clearly been broken for the marrow in it. These, along with others are obvious remains of food.

Sus scrofa (pig). Only one bone remain has been identified as coming from this species, an incomplete atlas. In determining wild boar bones from the Neolithic, we find ourselves in front of

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¹ The separation of aurochs and domestic cattle bones has been done with the help of: KOBRYŃ-LASOTA-MOSKALEWSKA 1989; BÖKÖNYI 1972, BÖKÖNYI ET AL. 1964, ČERVENÝ 1990.

	NISP	%	%	MNI	%	%
<i>Bos taurus</i> (domestic cattle)	12	20	20.3	5	71.4	83.3
<i>Bos primigenius</i> (aurochs)	3	5	5.1	1	14.3	16.7
<i>Bos sp.</i> (cattle)	44	73.3	74.6	-	-	-
<i>Bos taurus/primigenius</i> (domestic cattle/aurochs)	59	98.3	100	6	85.7	100
<i>Sus scrofa</i> (pig)	1	1.7		1	14.3	
Total	60	100		7	100	

Table 1. The distribution of the animal bones at Târgu-Mureş.
Abbreviations: NISP = Number of Identified Specimens; MNI = the Minimal Number of Individuals.

	<i>Bos taurus</i> (domestic cattle)	<i>Bos primigenius</i> (aurochs)	<i>Bos sp.</i> (cattle/aurochs)	<i>Sus scrofa ferus</i> (wild boar)
Mandibula			4	
Dens			11	
Atlas				1
Scapula			3	
Humerus	2	1	2	
Radius	1		1	
Ulna	1			
Pelvis	2		1	
Tibia	2		4	
Calcaneus	3	1		
Ossa tarsi/carpi			1	
Metacarpus			6	
Metapodium			1	
Phalanx I.		1	1	
Phalanx II.	1			
Vertebra			1	
Long bone fragments			4	
Flat bone fragments			1	
Unidentified			3	
TOTAL	12	3	44	1

Table 2. The anatomical distribution of the animal bones at Târgu Mureş.

the same problem that cattle bones have caused. Separating the wild and domestic individuals of this species may seem easier today, especially if we can see and compare their fur colour, bristle length and body mass. But in the Neolithic the two subspecies did not have such different looks and on the level of bone morphology the two are very much alike. Measurements of whole skulls would help us in some way, but in archaeological excavations, usually only fragments of skulls are discovered, rarely complete ones.² Accordingly, the *Sus scrofa* atlas recovered from Târgu Mureş does not provide accurate information about the subspecies of wild boar. The measurements taken of it are listed in Table 3.

In conclusion, the relatively small archaeozoological material from Târgu Mureş suggests a Neolithic population for whom hunting seems to be an important occupation. In this moment, they may also very well have been in the middle of cattle and pig domestication process. This small batch of animal remains does certainly not reflect the full spectrum of animal husbandry at this site, but it may offer a taste of what the economy was built on. Accordingly, it projects a community relying mostly on middle and big sized mammals that provided food and other primary and secondary products for them. They most probably kept a batch of domestic or half-domestic animals that they would herd afield, and which would thus still mix with wild individuals. The members of this community obviously practiced hunting too, hunting and husbandry assuring them a balanced maintenance.

² ALBARELLA ET AL. 2009, 104.

Atlas	GL	LAd	GLF	BFcr	BFcd
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	40,6	19,5	37,9	53,8	45,4
Humerus	SD	Bd	BT		
<i>Bos primigenius</i>		≈101			
<i>Bos taurus</i>	46,2				
<i>Bos taurus</i>		90,8	80,3		
Radius	Bp	BFp			
<i>Bos taurus</i>	86,2	77,8			
Tibia	Bd	BFd			
<i>Bos taurus</i>	≈74	52,4			
Ph. I.	GL	Bp	SD	Bd	
<i>Bos primigenius</i>	≈82,2	≈44,3	37,6	40,7	
Ph. II.	GL	Bp	SD	Bd	
<i>Bos taurus</i>	49	40,1	32,5	33,3	

Table 3. The metrical data of measurable *Sus scrofa* (pig), *Bos taurus* (cattle) and *Bos primigenius* (aurochs) bones (in mm) at Târgu-Mureş.³

The Criş culture is relatively well researched from the point of view of archaeozoology, several materials have been analysed from all over the country, especially from Banat, Oltenia⁴ and Transylvania.⁵ The animal bone discoveries of a few sites in Muntenia⁶ and Moldova have also been studied.⁷

Most of the archaeozoological analysis of the animal bones coming from sites in Transylvania belonging to the Criş culture in the Neolithic are collected in a well structured volume.⁸ In it, twelve sites are presented⁹ from which the nearest to Târgu Mureş are Iernut (Mureş County), Gura Baciului and Livada (Cluj County). At Iernut and Livada the materials – much like in our case – were not very considerable in number: there were only 76 pieces analyzed at Iernut and 110 at Livada. The site Gura Baciului, on the other hand served 522 animal bone fragments for study.

At Livada, remains of hunted animals occur, too, but the majority of the bones still come from domestic mammals. Among these, cattle are the most represented, with sheep/goats far behind them and pigs on the third place. In the group of wild animals, deer bones are the most numerous, but two aurochs individuals appear, too, both of them being adults over 4 years old.

At Iernut, the situation is very similar, with mostly domestic mammals' remains and a small percent of wild animals. Among the domestic ones cattle hold the first position again, but in this case (just like at Târgu Mureş) pigs follow. The third place is taken by sheep/goats and the fourth by dogs. The only wild mammal identified at the site is an *Equus*, considered as wild horse. Other wild species were determined also, e.g. moles, gophers, mallards or mollusks.

³ Measurements taken after DRIESCH 1976.

⁴ BOLOMEY 1973; 1976; 1980; 1986; TRÂNCĂ-EL SUSI 1986.

⁵ See BINDEA 2008 and footnote 9.

⁶ FRÎNCULEASA ET AL. 2015.

⁷ NECRASOV-ŞTIRBU 1978; 1980.

⁸ BINDEA 2008.

⁹ Gura Baciului (HU: Bácsi-torok), near Cluj Napoca, Cluj county; Leţ (HU: Lécfalva), Covasna county; Zăuan (HU: Szilágyzovány), Sălaj county; Ocna Sibiului (HU: Vízakna), Sibiu county; Tâşnad (HU: Tasnád), Satu Mare county; Tărtăria (HU: Tatárlaka), Alba county; Livada (HU: Dengeleg), Cluj county; Turia (HU: Torja), Covasna county; Şeuşa (HU: Sósptak), Alba county; Lesiana Cave, near Şuncuiuş, Bihor county; Iernut (HU: Radnót), Mureş county; Suplacu de Barcău (HU: Berettyószéplak), Bihor county.

The majority (91.55 %) of the remains at Gura Baciului belong to domestic animals in the following order: cattle (51.44 %), sheep/goats (39.37 %) and pigs (0.72 %). Among the wild ones (8.45 %) there is a large variety of species, the most fragments belonging to red and roe deer. Aurochs occupy only the third place, along with wild boar, beaver and European brown hare, all of them showing a single bone fragment. Interestingly, bird bones occur, too, most of them coming from chickens, but there is also woodcock, jackdaw, crane and goose.

Taking into consideration the small number of animal bone remains found at Târgu Mureș, no precise conclusions about the economy or the animal breeding of the community can be drawn. Still, the species identified at the site represent the most common ones of the Neolithic, when the domestication process occurs in the Carpathian Basin. In south-west Asia, when the first domesticated animals appear, small ruminants (sheep and goats) are preferred the most, long before cattle or pigs. But when the process reaches the Carpathian Basin, the communities are not always able to satisfy all their needs in alimentation and at the same time, increase the animal supply only by imported, ready domesticated individuals, so

they are forced to domesticate the wild species that existed in their own environment, in this case aurochs and wild boars. Soon, the tamed version of these species, cattle and domestic pigs, take over the primal positions of the small ruminants.¹⁰ The animal bone material presently analysed, however poor, may reflect this very situation. On the other hand, though we were able to positively identify only a few bone fragments belonging to aurochs, the individual's age (adult) tells us exactly a fragment of the domestication story. Accordingly, those who want to tame an animal, take the young individuals, which are exclusively the ones that can be domesticated, a process during which they are forced to bring down the adults that protect the young.¹¹

At the same time, the age groups of the domestic cattle reflect a type of animal breeding that is not characteristic to the beginning of domestication anymore, when the animals were merely kept for their meat. The detection of subadult and adult individuals in the archaeozoological material tells us that the communities are beginning to discover the other uses of this animal besides alimentation, such as providing milk or their utility in fieldworks and transportation.

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EARLY BRONZE AGE BURIAL MOUNDS IN SOUTHEAST TRANSYLVANIA

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The Early Bronze Age (EBA) burial mounds of SE Transylvania are relatively less researched, compared to other regions of the Carpathian Basin, such as the Great Hungarian Plain or the Apuseni Mountains (Romania). This type of burial rite in the Late Copper Age – Early Bronze Age period is believed to originate from the north-Pontic steppes (Yamnaya), although the presence of this group has not yet been proved in SE Transylvania. With just four cemeteries identified in the specialized literature (Ocland–Dealul Pietros, Brăduț–Dealul cu Cioturi, Dealul Rotund, Tortoma, Eresteghin–Zadogoș, Ariușd–Piatra Veghe), this deficiency is explained by historical events and the positioning of the mounds: these are found on higher grounds, on mountain ridges, which are rather difficult to access. Some of the known sites were already researched in the 19th century; however, significant new survey or excavation has been done more than a hundred years after their first discovery. The ongoing debate in the scientific community on some aspects of terminology and chronology of the archaeological cultures make interpretations difficult as well.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age (EBA), burial mounds, SE Transylvania, Schneckenberg culture

EARLY BRONZE AGE BURIAL MOUNDS: AN OVERVIEW

This paper aims to discuss the presence of a specific type of burial custom from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, focusing on the region of Southeast Transylvania (Eastern Carpathians, Romania). The burial mounds are thought to originate from the Eurasian steppes; in the Early Bronze Age the spreading of this type of burial custom is associated with the Yamnaya population.¹ However, the custom of the burial mound is much older than that and has been used by many different archaeological cultures in different time periods. This form of funerary ritual can be traced back to the Neolithic

(ca. 5000 BC) and spread from the eastern territories to the north-Pontic region, the Carpathian Basin and further to the west.²

Regarding the EBA burial mounds, more research has been done and published from the western parts of Romania (the Apuseni Mountains, Banat). In comparison the South-eastern part is less known and researched compared to other regions of the Carpathian Basin.³

From Harghita and Covasna counties four such sites are mentioned: Ocland–Dealul Pietros (Oklánd–Kövesbérc),⁴ Brăduț–Dealul cu Cioturi, Dealul Rotund, Tortoma (Bardoc/

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¹ GIMBUTAS 1970; ECSÉDY 1979; HORVÁTH 2014, 122–123.

² HEYD 2017, 348–359; FURHOLT 2018, 189.

³ CIUGUDEAN 1991; 1996; 1998; 2000; 2003; 2011; SZÉKELY 1995, 1997a; TEODORESCU 2003, 2004, 2010, 2011; TIUT 2011; DARÓCZI 2015a.

⁴ CAVRUC 2000, 150–151.

Bibarcfalva–Tortoma, Kerekdomb, Kövesdomb),⁵ Eresteghin–Zadogoş (Eresztevény–Zádogos-tető),⁶ Ariuşd–Piatra Veghe (Erősd–Örhegy).⁷ Some of these were known and excavated in the 19th century, however new research has been done more than a hundred years after their first discovery.

At the end of the Copper Age and the beginning of the Bronze Age a new funerary rite spread from the eastern steppes to the western territories, which was attributed to the influences of the Yamnaya population.⁸ In the steppes some characteristic elements could already be found in the Late Copper Age (pre-Yamnaya horizon, 3400/3500–3300/3000–2750 BC). The early Yamnaya horizon overlaps with this period (3300/3100–2900/2600 BC), bringing elements such as multiply layered kurgan (with secondary burials), wooden structured graves (timber graves) without grave goods or ochre grave burials with poor inventory. Following this period, a late, mixed Yamnaya horizon influenced by the *Catacomb Grave culture* is present on the steppes and represents the end of the Early Bronze Age in the east (2900/2800–2500/2400).⁹ In the Carpathian Basin, the catacomb graves are not attested in the burial mounds – here, analogies of the stone cist graves of the Central European *Corded Ware Culture* (CWC) are present.¹⁰ The partial overlapping of the late-Yamnaya and Catacomb Grave culture in the south-west Pontic region is proven by elements such as the secondary burials in the kurgans, concentric arrangements of the graves or rich grave goods (copper, arsenical bronze and gold artefact).¹¹

In the Early Bronze Age the Yamnaya presence has been attested in regions of the

Carpathian Basin, such as the Great Hungarian Plain or the Apuseni Mountains in western Romania. East of the Tisa we find kurgans at sites such as Sárretudvari–Örhalom, Hajdúnánás–Tedej–Lyukashalom, Kunhegyes–Nagyállásalom, and so on.¹² In the Apuseni Mountains the Yamnaya influences can be observed in the funerary customs of the Livezile culture (group) and in the burial mounds found in parts of western Transylvania, at sites such as Poiana Ampoiului, Livezile–Baia, Poiana Aiudului–Dealul Velii.¹³ In east and south-east Transylvania however, the Yamnaya presence cannot be attested. Some specific funerary elements are present in east Transylvania, but the south-eastern burial mounds do not belong to this group. Here in the Early Bronze Age the Schneckenberg culture is present, whose burials (both flat/plane graves and burial mounds) have some similar elements to those of the Yamnaya group.¹⁴

Erecting a mound above a grave is not a unique custom; the practice is attested as early as the Neolithic and is a type of funerary rite that was used in different cultures, apparently not connected to each other.¹⁵ Burial mounds can be found from the prehistoric times to the Middle Ages, all across the globe, in East and Middle Asia, Europe, North-Africa and all the way to North-America. Several terms exist in the specialized literature for a burial mound. In the English literature terms like barrow, mound, tumulus etc. are used, depending on the structure, site and the period the mound was erected in. For example, the term kurgan is used rather for the mounds of groups or cultures originating from the Middle-East (the steppes) like the Yamnaya or the Scythians.¹⁶ Underneath the

⁵ ORBÁN 1868; SZÉKELY 1995; 1999; 2007; CAVRUC 1998, 55–56.

⁶ CAVRUC 1998, 102.

⁷ CZAJLIK ET AL. 2011, 17.

⁸ ECSÉDY 1979; HARDING 2011, 27.

⁹ DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 110–111.

¹⁰ BERTEMES 1998; DANI 2001, 132–133; DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 10–107.

¹¹ DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 110–111.

¹² DANI 2001; DANI–NEPPER 2006; DANI 2011; DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 74–81; HORVÁTH ET AL. 2013, 153–179.

¹³ CIUGUDEAN 1998, 67; 2000; 2011, 23–30.

¹⁴ SZÉKELY 1979; 1995; 1999; CIUGUDEAN 2011; DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 82–83.

¹⁵ ECSÉDY 1982, 126; DANI 2011, 25; HARDING 2011, 27.

¹⁶ HARDING 2011, 22.

mound the type of the grave pit and the rite by which the individual was laid to rest could also vary. The defunct could be cremated or it could be a skeleton burial. The defunct could be laid in a stone cist/ tomb or in a wooden structured pit. The shape of the pit could also vary or it could be missing: the defunct could be laid directly on the ground or on a bed made of organic material. Then, above this was built the mound, made of dirt and stones.

The burial mound can have several symbolic meaning. On one hand, the human and material resources invested into the construction of the mound can already show the devotion toward the defunct. Following the funeral, the mound will remain as a distinctive visual signal, by standing out from its surroundings. It can signify the strong connection between past and present, between the ancestors and descendants.¹⁷ On a larger scale, it can also mark a

territorial ownership of the region; it could show how a certain group or culture has political and/or religious dominancy and legitimate right over that specific space.¹⁸ The link between the funeral rites and the social and religious institutions is undeniable. The funerary custom is a form of institutionalised practice, through which property/ ownership and authority/ power are inherited and a custom that strengthens and/ or reshapes the connection between the ancestors and their descendants (also influencing social and economic ties). The funerary custom is one of the most elementary aspects of a community; in its whole is a complex, social, economic and religious practice. Whenever there is a significant change in a community's funerary rite it shows major internal and/or external influences that, with time, will affect the community's social, economic and religious organizations as well.¹⁹

EARLY BRONZE AGE CHRONOLOGY IN SE TRANSYLVANIA AND THE SCHNECKENBERG CULTURE

According to the relative chronology, the end of the Late Copper Age in Transylvania is set to ca. 2800 BC. In the northern, western and central regions the last phase of the Coțofeni culture, while in the eastern region the Globular Amphorae Culture (GAC) is present (following the discovery of the stone cist grave from Sânmartin-Ciuc (Csíkszentmárton), and based on the funerary inventory of the graves from Albiș (Kézdiálbis) and Sfântu-Gheorghe–Arcuș (Sepsiszentgyörgy–Árkos).²⁰

The transition period from the Late Copper Age to the Early Bronze Age is set between ca. 2800–2600 BC; therefore the beginning of the Bronze Age is set after ca. 2600 BC. The end of the Early Bronze Age is set to ca. 2100/2000

BC.²¹ However, the relative chronology of the Late Copper Age and Early Bronze Age is still debated in the Romanian scientific community. M. Rotea places the Coțofeni culture in the EBA and considers its beginning to be set around 3500 BC (following P. Roman 1986 and Al. Vulpe 2001).²² I. Motzoi-Chicideanu places the EBA between 3700–3000 BC.²³ Authors R. Băjenaru and A. D. Popescu consider the EBA to be set between 3500–2000 BC, and include cultures that are present in the LCA as well (Boleraz, Cernavodă III, Cernavodă II, Foltești, Baden, and Coțofeni cultures).²⁴ F. Gogâltan considers the earliest bronze metallurgy to be present in Transylvania starting only from 2500 BC. Furthermore, the complex hierarchical social

¹⁷ BARRETT 1990, 184; BAILEY 2000, 23–28.

¹⁸ HEYD 2011, 546.

¹⁹ KRISTIANSEN ET AL. 2017, 336.

²⁰ SZÉKELY 2003, 113; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 21; CIUGUDEAN 2015, 164.

²¹ GOGÂLTAN 2015, 74 (fig. 23); DARÓCZI 2015a, 339 (pl. I).

²² ROTEA 1993.

²³ MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 48.

²⁴ BĂJENARU–POPESCU 2012, 363–433; GOGÂLTAN 2015, 55.

and economic model that is characteristic for the Bronze Age cultures could not have been developed in the Coțofeni period.²⁵

It appears that in the Southeast the Bronze Age started earlier than in the other regions of Transylvania. Here, an influence coming from the South-Romanian Plains, the Zimnicea-type vessels, interfered with the evolution of the local Copper Age Coțofeni–Koložskorpád culture.²⁶ These southern elements shaped the evolution of the Zăbala group, which is considered to be part of the pre-Schneckenberg horizon.²⁷ The Schneckenberg culture in the first phase of the Early Bronze Age (EBA Ia) is contemporaneous with the pit-grave burials of the Apuseni Mountains, and is continuously present in the second phase (EBA II) as well. The discovery of the Globular Amphorae culture sites in the eastern Carpathians support the assumption that these communities were the predecessors of the Schneckenberg culture.²⁸ The Globular Amphorae culture has also presumably played a role in the spreading of the stone cist graves in the Schneckenberg B phase.²⁹ The origin of the Schneckenberg culture is not quite clear as yet, as well as its connection to other groups and cultures. The culture's relative chronology has been established in relation to the Glina culture and was set between 2700–2400 BC.³⁰ It would appear that the local Jigodin group from the Ciuc Depression is the result of the mutual impact of the Schneckenberg B and Corded Ware cultures.³¹ In the last phase of the Early Bronze Age (EBA III) the Zoltan group is present,

which shows similarities with the central-Transylvanian Iernut group.³²

The Schneckenberg culture's burials show a rather diverse picture: there are flat burials as well as burial mounds.³³ In the case of flat burials the dead were laid to rest in a stone cist grave in a contracted position, ex. Araci (Árapatak), Codlea (Feketehalom), Ghimbav (Vidombák), Hălchiu (Höltövény), Hărman (Szászhermány), Rotbav (Szászveresmart).³⁴ In the case of burial mounds we also find examples of stone cist graves where the defunct was laid in a contracted position (Brăduț–*Dealul cu Cioturi* T.8., 1994–1996; Erešeghin, 1979). The majority of the burials that have been excavated so far are flat burials, which are found in large, open spaces, in the fields; while the mounds are found on higher grounds, on mountain ridges.³⁵ The settlements are found also on high grounds, on hilltops or mountain ridges. Settlements are known from the Covasna county for example at the following sites: Zăbala (Zabola), Ariușd (Erősd), Sânzieni (Kézdiszentlélek–*Perkö*), Sfântu-Gheorghe–*Piatră Veghe* (Sepsiszentgyörgy–*Örkő*) and from Harghita county at Jigodin (Csíkszögöd) and Lelicieni (Csíkszentlélek).³⁶ The sites at Zăbala, Sânzieni and Sfântu-Gheorghe–*Piatră Veghe* show signs of fortified settlements.³⁷ So far, the sites of burial mounds could not be connected to settlements.

At one of the most significant prehistoric settlement sites, at Ariușd,³⁸ there have been excavations in the beginning of the 20th century, carried out by F. László (1907–1908,

²⁵ BĂTORA 2003, GOGĂLTAN 2015, 55.

²⁶ ROMAN 1986, 38; SZÉKELY 2002, 45; 2009, 40.

²⁷ SZÉKELY Z. 1971, 398–399; SZÉKELY 2002, 45; DARÓCZI 2015a, 36.

²⁸ SZÉKELY 2003, 116; 2009, 42.

²⁹ SZÉKELY 2002, 45–46; GOGĂLTAN 2015, 68.

³⁰ MOTZOI-CHICIDEANU 2011, 293; BĂJENARU 2014, 258; GOGĂLTAN 2015, 69.

³¹ PROX 1941, 81–83; ROMAN 1974, 166–171; SZÉKELY 1997a, 9, 23–51; DANI–HORVÁTH 2012, 101–107; DARÓCZI 2015a, 36.

³² CAVRUC 1997, 157–172; DARÓCZI 2015a, 36.

³³ SZÉKELY 1979, 45; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 22.

³⁴ PROX 1941, 70–73; SZÉKELY 1997b; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 30–33.

³⁵ SZÉKELY 1983, 62; DARÓCZI 2015b, 26–29.

³⁶ SZÉKELY 1983, 61.

³⁷ SZÉKELY 1981, 14; 1983, 61.

³⁸ The Copper Age settlement site, which gave the Ariușd–Cucuteni–Tripolje group its name (for discussion see: SZTÁNCsUJ 2015).

1910–1913, 1925), but the Bronze Age material was not published.³⁹ Later on M. Roska, H. Schroller and A. Prox published some of the excavated materials.⁴⁰ The latter also wrote a short monography on the Schneckenberg culture, based on a few sites and artefacts from south-east Transylvania, also creating a typological classification.⁴¹ Since then not many have ventured to research this archaeological culture. In the second half of the 20th century, between 1968–1986 more excavations have been conducted, but sadly none of

the Schneckenberg material was published. Toward the end of the previous century a few short reports mention the Schneckenberg settlement from Ariuşd (Zs. Székely 1997 and Z. Székely 1999). The most recent and detailed work that has finally published the material, more than a hundred years after its excavation, came in 2009 by S. Sztáncsuj.⁴² Some aspects of the material culture, such as the ceramic types and their decorations are better known now,⁴³ however there are still many aspects of this EBA archaeological culture to be researched.

BURIAL MOUNDS IN SOUTHEAST TRANSYLVANIA

Regarding the Early Bronze Age burial mounds, the diverse, mixed rite elements are characteristic in the entire region of Transylvania. Basically, two distinct aspects can be observed: in the western territories (the Apuseni mountains), with the exception of a couple of cases, in the burial mounds the stone cists or the pit-graves are missing. Here, the dead were laid on the ground (presumably on a “bed” made out of organic material) and above them was constructed the mound made of dirt and stones.⁴⁴ Whereas, stone cist graves and pit-graves are both present

in the eastern territories’ mounds. The EBA stone cist graves are known mainly from flat burials, ex. Sânmartin-Ciuc (Csíkszentmárton), Lelicieni (Csíkszentlélek), Sânzieni (Kézdiszentlélek), Turia (Torja).⁴⁵ Of course, we also need to consider that these flat burials were in fact burial mounds that, with time, eroded due to weather conditions and intensive agricultural works. In the case of the known burial mounds at three sites were stone cist grave found (Brăduţ, Ereşteghin and Ocland).

BRĂDUŢ–TORTOMA, DEALUL ROTUND, DEALUL CU CIOTURI⁴⁶ (Fig. 1)

The site at Brăduţ is known since the 19th century, when a local officer, Gábor Daniel excavated some of the mounds.⁴⁷ At the end of the 20th century, between 1994–1996 *Institutul Român de Tracologie* conducted excavations as well, on *Dealul Rotund* and *Dealul cu Cioturi*. Further on, in 2007 Zs. Székely excavated

another mound.⁴⁸ The most recent surveys have been done in 2017, when S. Sztáncsuj and his co-workers carried out field surveys on *Tortoma*. The most researched and excavated SE Transylvanian EBA burial mounds are at the Brăduţ site. Between 1994 and 1996 several mounds were excavated: on Dealul Rotund 10 mounds,

³⁹ SZTÁNCSUJ 2009, 45.

⁴⁰ SZTÁNCSUJ 2009, 47.

⁴¹ PROX 1941.

⁴² SZTÁNCSUJ 2009.

⁴³ BOROFFKA 2004, 19–24 (fig. 15–24); SZTÁNCSUJ 2009, 45–78; BERECKI–BALÁZS 2011; GOGÂLTAN 2015, 69.

⁴⁴ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 21.

⁴⁵ SZÉKELY 1983, 62; 2003, 113; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 30–33; GOGÂLTAN 2015, 69–70, 79 (fig. 37).

⁴⁶ *Dealul Rotund* and *Dealul cu Cioturi* are toponyms and mean Round Hill and Stony/Rocky Hill, respectively.

⁴⁷ ORBÁN 1868, 221–222.

⁴⁸ SZÉKELY 1995, 106; 1997b; 1999, 139; 2007, 8.

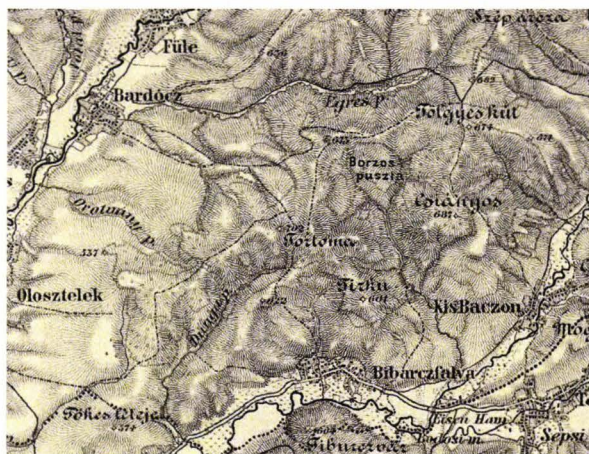


Fig. 1. Tortoma on the Third Military Survey (1869–1887) and mound on Tortoma in August 2017.

while on Dealul cu Cioturi 5 mounds were dug. In 2007, besides excavating another mound, field surveys were also carried out in hope of finding a settlement belonging to the cemetery. This resulted in identifying traces of an Early Neolithic settlement, which was once inhabited during the Starčevo–Criș culture. So far, the mounds excavated on *Dealul cu Cioturi* were all dated to the Schneckenberg culture (Schneckenberg B – Jigodin phase), but on the northern side of Dealul Rotund the mounds also had Coțofeni I. type ceramic sherds and partially the LBA Noua culture settled on top of the previous

habitation. The majority of the materials coming from Brăduț are plain, coarse black or brown coloured ceramic sherds. The decorated pieces are rather fragmentary; the decorating elements consist of vertical and horizontal or triangle shaped incisions, finger impressions and combed motif. On a fine black sherd a corded motif is present, and there is also a high arched handle piece (*kantharos*). These were attributed by Zs. Székely to the Coțofeni culture, but the ceramics with straight rims were declared to the Schneckenberg culture.

ERESTEGHIN-ZADOGOȘ (Fig. 2)

Out of three mounds registered since the 19th century, one was excavated in 1908 by Ferenc László (Székely National Museum). He found a few burnt bones and some ceramic

sherds in a stone cist.⁴⁹ Later on, in 1979 another mound was disturbed during some agricultural works, a skeleton and a vessel was found in a stone cist grave. Unfortunately, the mound was

⁴⁹ SZÉKELY 1979, 41.

destroyed and the skull was damaged as well. The grave was oriented to the east-west direction. The dead was laid on its right side in a contracted position, with the head toward west. The vessel was placed next to the head, beside this there was no funerary inventory. The vessel was a brown coloured wide mouthed cup with two handles. From the neck to the belly it was

decorated with the corded motif, below which inverted triangles were incised. Similarly decorated vessel was found in a stone cist flat grave from Ghimbav (Vidombák, Braşov County).⁵⁰ Based on the vessel type and the funerary rite, the Ereteghin mound was attributed to the Schneckenberg B phase.⁵¹



Fig. 2. Archive photographs from the 19th century picturing the mounds from Ereteghin (Székely National Museum, legacy of Ferenc László).

⁵⁰ PROX 1941, 73 (Taf. XXVI).

⁵¹ SZÉKELY 1979, 43–44.



ARIUȘD-PIATRA VEGHE⁵² (Fig. 3)

The prehistoric sites surrounding Ariușd are well known and researched.⁵³ However, the presumably EBA burial mound site has not yet been excavated. This site is known through field survey and aerial photography.⁵⁴ In SE Transylvania there are no other archaeological cultures or groups that erected mounds present, so by analogies the site was attributed to the Early Bronze Age. East from the village, on a mountain crest 15 mounds are found in a 5 km linear segment. This positioning is identical to other EBA burial mound sites from the Apuseni Mountains or at Ocland as well.⁵⁵ The larger mounds have an average 15–18 m diameter; their height is about 2 m. The smaller ones have a 5–8 m diameter and are 1 m high.

Fig. 3. Mounds along the mountain crest south of Ariușd on the First Military Survey (1782–1785).

OCLAND-DEALUL PIETROS⁵⁶

Similarly to the Ariușd mounds, the burial site is also found on a high mountain ridge, called Rocky Summit (Mountain). This site is also known since the 19th century, when a high school teacher, Endre Solymossy excavated 18 mounds. The results of the excavation held between 1894–1895 he also published in a short report. Based on this, there were 38 mounds in total.⁵⁷ More than a hundred years after the first excavations, in 2006 infrastructural works disturbed some of the mounds. Following this, in 2008 a joint

team from the Haáz Rezső Museum of Odorheiu Secuiesc and the Székely National Museum of Sfântu Gheorghe conducted new research at the site. They carried out field surveys, geophysical measuring and excavation as well.⁵⁸ The most recent results from the site are radiocarbon dating samples that were analysed in 2018 by the Hertelendi Laboratory of Environmental Studies (Institute for Nuclear Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) in Debrecen.⁵⁹ These results are waiting publication.

The small number of the SE Transylvanian EBA burial mound sites is not sufficient for creating

a comprehensive picture, regarding the spread and intensity of this funerary practice in this

⁵² A toponym, meaning a high, rocky place suitable for keeping watch.

⁵³ SZTÁNCSUJ 2015; CAVRUC 1998, 152–154.

⁵⁴ CZAJLIK ET AL. 2011, 17.

⁵⁵ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 23, pl. 1/2.

⁵⁶ A toponym, also meaning Rocky Hill.

⁵⁷ SOLYMOSSY 1895, 417–419.

⁵⁸ RapOcland 2008.

⁵⁹ Joint effort of S. Sztáncsuj from the Székely National Museum and J. Dani from the Déri Museum, Debrecen.

region. Obviously, this is explained by the lack of research and not by the absence of such sites. However, based on the information we do have, a few observations can be made.

The excavated mounds all have mixed funerary rites: cremation and inhumation are both present. In the case of inhumation the dead were placed in a stone cist grave or a pit-grave (Brăduț-Dealul cu Cioturi, T. 8, 1994–1996; Ereteghin, dead in a contracted position, 1979; Ocland, 19th century excavation and 2008, T. 13). In the case of cremation the remains were also treated in different ways: the burnt bones or ashes were found in a stone cist (Brăduț, 19th century) or in an arranged area with larger stones (Brăduț, T. 1., 1994). But there is also an example when the burnt bones and ashes were part of the stratigraphy (Brăduț, 19th century).⁶⁰ In some mounds signs of multiple graves were identified (Brăduț, T. 1),⁶¹ while in some mounds no trace of funerary practice was found (Brăduț, T. 3. and T. 4.).⁶² The trait of mixing of rites in such a manner could point to a rather transitional state of the given community. The old, traditional customs are still in use while a new influence reaches the group.⁶³ It seems that the practice of cremation appeared in the Schneckenberg B phase.⁶⁴ This custom was not known in this region before, based on the *askos* type vessels the scientific community attributes the influence to the south Romanian Glina culture.⁶⁵

When it comes to the Southeast-Transylvanian EBA burial mounds, there is little to no evidence for their connection to the north-Pontic region or the Yamnaya population. The burial mounds in the Apuseni Mountains do have some elements identic to the burials of the Yamnaya (ex. stone-covered mounds, ochre lumps in the graves, the dead laid on their back with their knees pulled up). However, it should be noted that, in addition to these elements, a

strong local aspect is also present in the burials: the lack of the pit-graves.⁶⁶ Regarding the SE region of Transylvania, similar elements to the Yamnaya burials that can be mentioned are the lack of inventory in the graves and the position of the dead (laid on their back, with pulled-up knees). There are examples of stone-covered mounds, but so far, the ochre clods are not present.

Based on the material culture, the corded motif on the ceramic ware alone is not enough for great conclusions (ex. Brăduț, Ereteghin). There is a difference between the Central-European Corded Ware Culture (CWC) and the corded motif, the latter being present in many different archaeological cultures.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, as long as there are no more scientifically dated samples (ex. radiocarbon dating) from the SE Transylvanian EBA burial mounds, the attribution of these sites to time periods and archaeological cultures remain rather provisional. In addition to this, it would also be necessary to clarify the stratigraphy of some of the already excavated mounds (ex. Brăduț). The material coming from these mounds are not always clearly stated to which context or layer they belong to, or if they are a primary or secondary deposition. At the mounds from Brăduț more Bronze Age cultures are present: ceramics belonging to the last phase of the Copper Age Coțofeni culture, material belonging to the Early Bronze Age Schneckenberg B – Jigodin phase and sherds with corded motif were all found. Out of the four EBA burial mound sites from SE Transylvania two were attributed to the Schneckenberg culture (Brăduț and Ereteghin). The mounds from Ariușd are so far known only through field survey and aerial photography and the site at Ocland was attributed to the Early Bronze Age, but no archaeological culture was determined.

⁶⁰ ORBÁN 1868, 221–222.

⁶¹ ORBÁN 1868, 221; SZÉKELY 1995, 106.

⁶² SZÉKELY 1995, 107.

⁶³ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 22; DARÓCZI 2015b, 13–15.

⁶⁴ SZÉKELY 1995; 1997a; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 22.

⁶⁵ SZÉKELY 1981, 14–15; SCHUSTER ET AL. 2005; CIUGUDEAN 2011, 22.

⁶⁶ CIUGUDEAN 2011, 29, 30–33.

⁶⁷ BERTEMES 1998, 191; DANI-HORVÁTH 2012, 102.

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THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE CEMETERY AT ȚUFALĂU / CÓFALVA- ALÁMENŐ I (COVASNA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

József PUSKÁS*

In 2018, during field surveys, near the village Țufalău / Cófálva a Middle Bronze Age cemetery was identified. In the ploughing marks a total of 18 ceramic and bone densities were discovered, belonging to a disturbed cremation cemetery. The ceramics discovered in the cemetery belong entirely to the Wietenberg culture, very likely to the A-B/I-II periods. An important result of the present paper is a radiocarbon dating of one of the graves (G 2). The calibrated data has given a 68.2% probability for a dating between 1876 and 1698 BC, which corresponds to a 95.4% probability for a dating between 1882 and 1692 calBC.

Keywords: field survey, cremation cemetery, southeastern Transylvania, Wietenberg culture, C14 data
Cuvinte cheie: cercetare de teren, cimitir de incineratie, sud-estul Transilvaniei, cultura Wietenberg, datare C14

Țufalău (Hungarian: Cófálva) is located in the present day Covasna County, Romania. Geographically it is a part of the Târgu Secuiesc Depression (hu: Felsőháromszéki-medence), the easternmost inner mountain depression of the Eastern Carpathian Mountains. The modern settlement lies on the left bank of the Black River (ro: Râul Negru, hu: Feketeügy), on a small hill emerging from the floodplain of the river. The hill is also bordered by the Covasna stream (hu: Kovászna-patak) from the south, and the Păpăuț stream (hu: Papolc-patak) from the north. Before river management operations in the early 1900's the area was often flooded, creating watery marshes on the low-lying areas. In the present day the fields are used for grazing or as hayfields. The toponymic-material as well as the lack of any trace of prehistoric settlements on these low-lying fields also suggests the existence of extended marshes even from prehistoric times. The former settlements are found on the alluvial fans, rising a few metres high, which

during floods remain dry. All of these fans were inhabited at different periods between the Neolithic and the 4th century AD.

The site is located about 800 m south-west from the local reformed church, on a slope facing south-west. During field surveys a Middle Bronze Age cemetery was identified. In the ploughing marks a total of 18 ceramic and bone densities were discovered, belonging to a disturbed cremation cemetery (Fig. 1). Since there were no archaeological excavations, this number does not indicate the number of the graves, because the urns, additional vessels and bone fragments could have been disturbed by the plough. The high number of bases belonging probably to urns suggests a badly damaged or totally destroyed cemetery. It seems unreasonable to speak of proper graves, so the "G" in the description means "grouping" and not "graves".

G 1. This is a grouping that included ceramic fragments belonging to two vessels, an urn and a possible lid. The urn was made of a

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fine fabric, with smoothed surfaces, burnt black, with traces of secondary burning. The neck was decorated with three parallel lines. Dimension: dmax: 32 cm.¹ The fragments of the second vessel (lid?) belong to a vessel with an everted rim, with a coarse undecorated surface. Dimension: drim: 22 cm. Among the ceramics 11 bone fragments were found (Pl. III/1–2).

G 2. In this grouping were found the best preserved vessels, consisting of two urns. The first one was made in a coarse fabric, with a smoothed brown outer surface, with everted rim, without decoration. Dimensions: dmax: 26 cm, drim: 16 cm. The second urn was made of sandy clay, with a smoothed burnt dark grey surface. The shoulder was decorated with three horizontal lines filled with short, vertical incisions. Beneath these, oblique, shallow channeling appears, closed by a decoration similar to that of the shoulder. The vessel has two small handles on the shoulder. Dimensions: dmax: 20 cm, drim: 13 cm, dbas: 6 cm. Some 15 burnt bone fragments were also found (Pl. III/3; IV/1).

G 3. The third grouping was marked by the base fragments of a vessel and 26 burnt bone fragments. The vessel was made of fine fabric, burnt grey, with a smoothed outer surface. Dimension: dbas: 8 cm (Pl. IV/2; VII/1).

G 4. Ceramic fragments belonging to two vessels: a base of an urn and a possible lid. The base was made of fine fabric, with a smoothed surface, burnt grey. Dimension: dbas: 13 cm. The fragments of the second vessel (lid?) belong to a bowl with an everted rim, with a coarse undecorated surface. Dimension: drim: 24 cm. Between the ceramics 30 bone fragments were found (Pl. IV/3–4; VII/2).

G 5. The ceramic fragments found in this group belong to at least two vessels. The urn had a well-preserved base. It was made of fine grey fabric with brown cloud-like firing marks, and a smoothed surface. A few decorated sherds very likely belong to this vessel. One is decorated with wide channelling, the other with cross-hatching on the shoulder. Dimension: dbas: 10.3 cm. Two other fragments belong to a dish, and probably served as a lid for the urn. It was made of coarse

fabric, with a smoothed outer surface. The rim was decorated with oblique incisions. Also six bone fragments were found (Pl. V/1–2; VII/3).

G 6. In this group only five ceramic fragments were found, with no bone remains. The sherds belong to a burnt red vessel, with a coarse undecorated surface.

G 7. Probably the three ceramic fragments found in this group belong to the same vessel. The urn, burnt grey, was decorated on the shoulder with a horizontal band of incised cross-hatchings. Near the pottery seven bone fragments were found (Pl. V/3; VII/4).

G 8. The few ceramic fragments belong to an urn. It was burnt grey, with a smoothed undecorated outer surface. Near the pottery two bone fragments were discovered (Pl. VII/5).

G 9. This was a concentration of about 13 bone fragments, very likely belonging to long bones. At a distance of 25 cm from the bones a small handle of a cup was found.

G 10. At this location fragments from two vessels were found, with no bone remains. The first type was of grey-brown colour on the outside and light brown on the inside, with a smoothed surface. Dimension: drim: 22 cm. The second vessel has a brown outer and dark grey inner, smoothed surface. Both vessels were undecorated (Pl. V/4).

G 11. This group includes of fragments of a vessel, with undecorated black outer and grey inner surfaces.. Near the pottery 20 bone fragments were found (Pl. VII/6).

G 12. This comprises fragments from different vessels. One may belong to an urn while the other to an adjacent vessel. Five bone fragments were also found (Pl. VII/7).

G 13. This group contains fragments from a vessel with an S-profile, with everted rim, with smoothed undecorated brown surface. Two bone fragments were also discovered (Pl. VI/1).

G 14. In this grouping are fragments from two vessels. One has an everted rim, with a burnt black undecorated fabric with brown cloud-like firing marks. Dimension: drim: c. 30 cm. A second vessel has a cylindrical neck, having a smoothed undecorated brown outer and a dark

¹ Abbreviations used in text: dmax: maximum diameter; drim: rim diameter; dbas: base diameter.

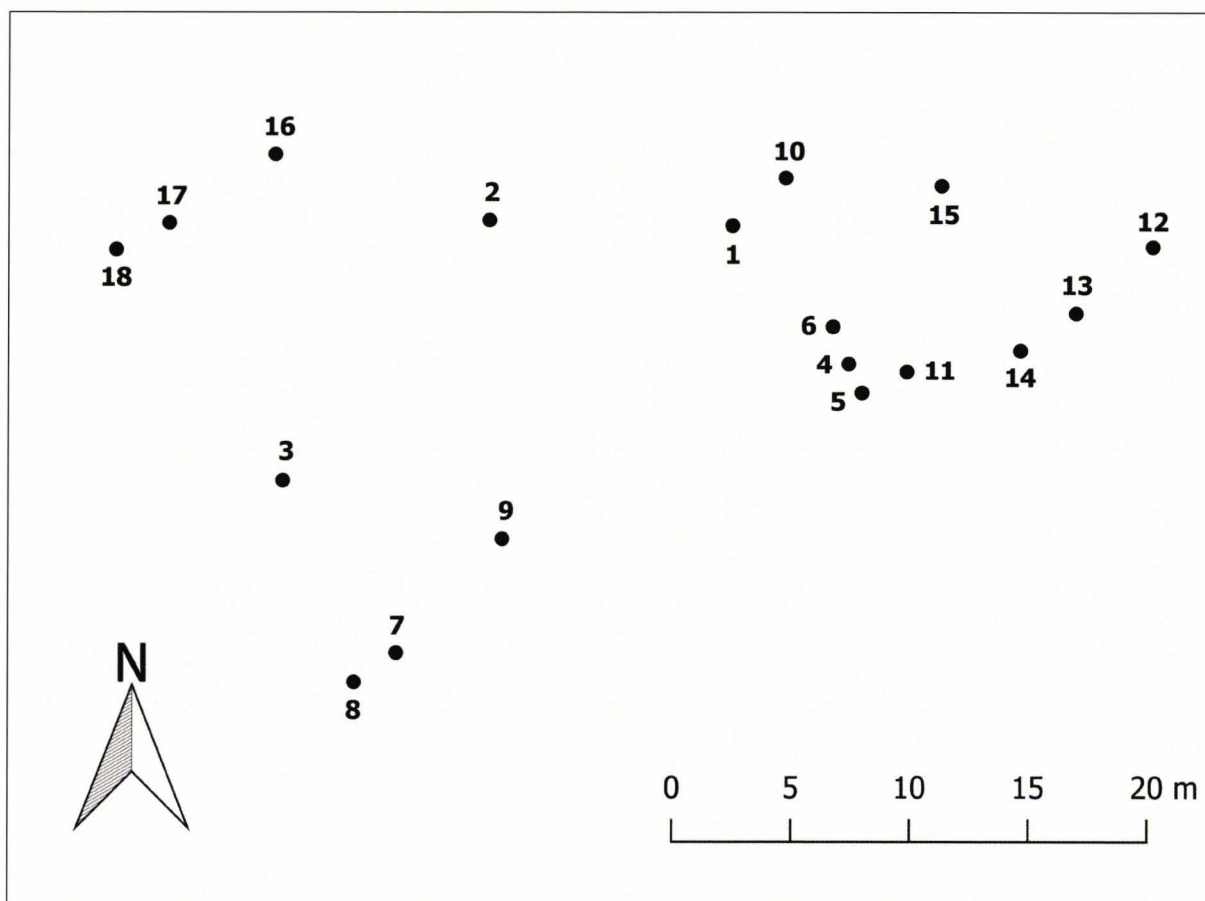


Fig. 1. Distribution of the ceramic and bone groupings in the cemetery.

grey inner surface.. Dimension: drim: 26 cm. Near the ceramic fragments a chipped stone and nine bone fragments were found (Pl. VI/3–5).

G 15. The ten ceramic fragments of this group belong to two different vessels. One has grey-brown colour on the outside, and is reddish on the inside, with a smoothed surface. The second vessel was burnt dark grey with a smoothed surface. None of the fragments were decorated. Between the sherds 11 bone fragments were found.

G 16. Pottery fragments from a vessel having coarse brown-red surfaces, without decoration. 28 bone fragments were discovered together with pottery (Pl. VII/8).

G 17. The ceramic fragments in this group probably belong to two vessels. One had brown colour with a smoothed surface. The other is

a rim of a lobed bowl, with grey colour and an undecorated smoothed surface. The 22 bone fragments were found with the pottery (Pl. VI/2; VII/9).

G 18. This grouping had only pottery fragments. The urn had a coarse, red surface, without decoration (Pl. VI/6; VII/10).

The archaeological material consists almost exclusively of pottery fragments. Some of them could be joined together, and in one case the urn could be restored. The fragmentation of the material made possible only a superficial typological analysis.² The ceramic fragments belong to urns and very likely to bowls that were used as lids. There were some fragments belonging to small cups, which suggests the existence of adjacent vessels.

² For the vessel forms and decoration motifs I used the typology created by Nikolaus Boroffka: BOROFFKA 1994, 119–194, Typentafel 1–29.

The only restored urn (discovered in G 2) belongs to the type TA2c, having a straight, slightly inverted rim (Pl. IV/1). The decoration consists of shallow, horizontal and cross-hatched channels. Apparently similar vessels were discovered in some of the graves from Sebeş–*Deasupra Satului*.³ Also in G 2 were recovered the fragments of another urn without decoration. The vessel can be included in the S-profiled, TA4c type (Pl. III/3). Other fragments belonging probably to urns were recovered from G 1, 5, 7, 10, 13, 14 and 18.⁴ The one from G 1 is decorated on the shoulder with three parallel lines (VD3 – Pl. III/1). Here was found fragment belonging to a vessel with unusual form, not presented by Boroffka. From G 5, beside the numerous fragments from the base of a TA4c-type urn, one sherd of the shoulder was recovered, decorated with cross-hatched band (VD4 – Pl. V/1). A similar fragment is known from G 7 (Pl. V/3). A few other fragments belonging to S-profiled vessels (TA4) are known from G 4 (Pl. IV/4), G 10 (Pl. V/4), G 13 (Pl. VI/1) and G 14 (Pl. VI/3). Due to the state of fragmentation we could not assign them to any particular vessel type. Possibly another rim from G 14 (Pl. VI/4) belongs to type TA3b, while a small part of a bag-shaped vessel (Pl. VI/6) was recovered from G 18. The bases from G 3–4 could have belonged to urns, or could have been used as lids (Pl. IV/2–3). Also the bowls from G 5 and G 17 were used as lids. The first was decorated with cross-hatched incisions on the outside of the rim (VD4) and oblique incisions on top of the rim (VD48 – Pl. V/2). A second fragment is a TE1a-type undecorated lobed

bowl (Pl. VI/2). In G 14 a chipped stone was found that may have been a tool (Pl. VI/5).

From the 18 groupings a total of 207 bone fragments (likely all human) were recovered. There has not yet been any anthropological study of the fragments. All are small, fragmentary pieces, with obvious traces of burning. Sometimes the bone remains were placed in the urn with charcoal remains, probably without selecting any preferred parts of the body.

The ceramics discovered in the cemetery at Țufalău / Cofalva–*Alămenő I*. belong entirely to the Wietenberg culture. The S-profiled vessels of TA4c are a common form in the culture, but without much chronological value. It is known from the four lower layers of the Derșida site,⁵ as well as from cemeteries belonging to different periods of the Wietenberg culture.⁶ A few fragments belonging to the TA2c-type vessels were discovered in the three middle layers (2–4) at the Derșida site. N. Boroffka dated this vessel form to the Wietenberg A2 phase. Also the TA3b-type vessel belongs to an earlier phase (Boroffka A1).⁷ At Derșida the TE1a-type lobed bowls were more often represented in the earlier phase of the culture (Wietenberg A2-B).⁸ A similar tendency was observed at the Rotbav site, where this type of vessel (Dietrich B5c) appeared only in the 1st and 2nd layers.⁹

The decorations of the vessels are simple. The motifs are all made with incision techniques. The parallel lines and the crosshatched bands do not have chronological value, having been used for a long period of time.¹⁰

The simple vessel forms and the lack of complex decorative motifs such as meanders,

³ PAUL 1995, 182, Taf. VI/7–8.

⁴ Here we present only those fragments that were decorated, and that eventually could be assigned to vessel forms. In a recently published article a Bayesian modeling was made for the available Wietenberg dates. The authors concluded “that we should abandon the existing relative chronology for the internal development of the Wietenberg Culture. The ceramic styles upon which the current chronology is constructed are not temporally discrete.” (QUINN ET AL. 2020, 55). For now, we have opted for the use of the existing relative chronology, but its use in the future should be reconsidered.

⁵ BOROFFKA 1994, 247, Tabelle 12.

⁶ SZÉKELY 1995, 142, pl. V/1; 143, pl. VII/4; 146, pl. XI/4; BERECKI 2016, 176, pl. 11/2, 178, pl. 13/9; BĂLAN–BURLACU–TIMOFTE 2017, 90, fig. 128, 97, fig. 145 etc.

⁷ BOROFFKA 1994, 249.

⁸ BOROFFKA 1994, 247, Tabelle 12; 249.

⁹ DIETRICH 2014, 54.

¹⁰ BOROFFKA 1994, 248–249.

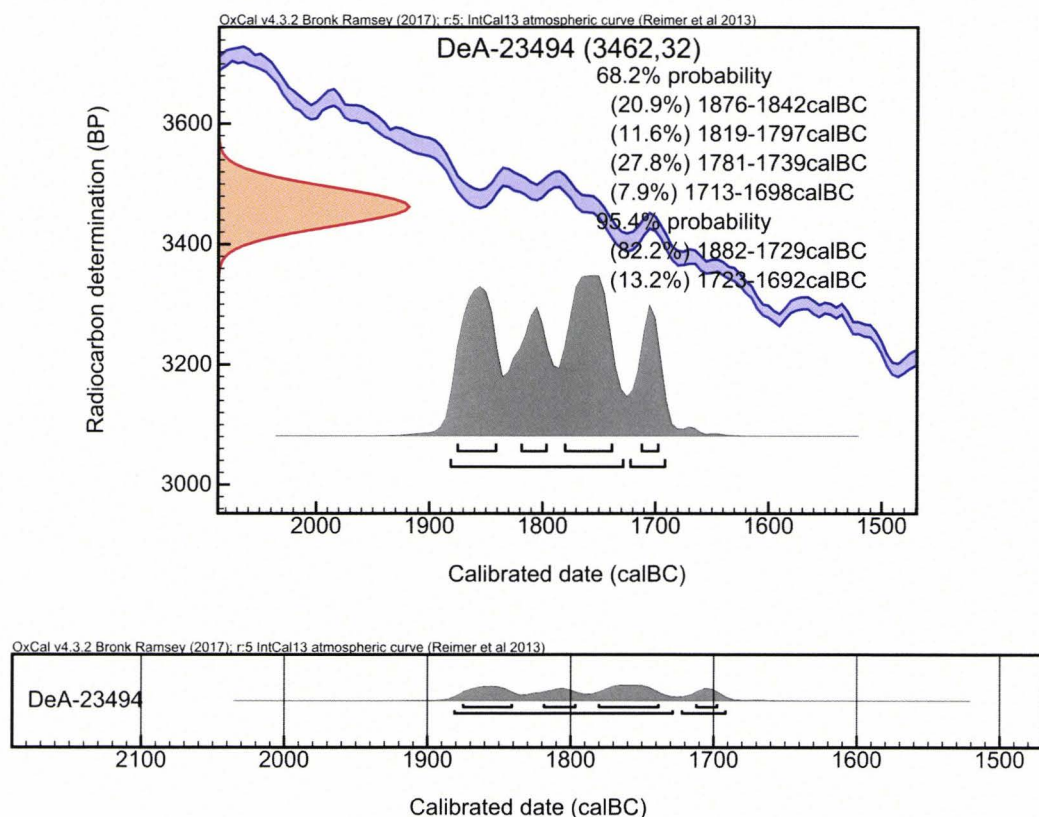


Fig. 2. Calibrated radiocarbon dating of G 2.

spirals or the *Zahnstempelung* technique suggests that the use of the cemetery was limited to the Wietenberg A-B/I-II periods. For the absolute chronology of the cemetery we dispose of a single radiocarbon measurement. The burnt bone sample (DeA-23494) was taken from G 2, and has given a 3462 $\pm$ 32 BP result. The calibrated data has given a 68.2% probability for a dating between 1876 and 1698 BC, which corresponds to a 95.4% probability for a dating between 1882 and 1692 calBC (Fig. 2).¹¹

Similar results were obtained for some of the graves at Sebeș-Între Răstoace¹² and Sibișeni,¹³ the latter being a cemetery of the Wietenberg C/III phase.¹⁴

In the distribution area of the Wietenberg culture similar data to that found at Țufalău / Cófalva are known from Wietenberg B/II,¹⁵ and also from Wietenberg C/III sites.¹⁶ Thanks to the growing number of C14 measurements, in recent years several scholars have reviewed the chronology of the Wietenberg culture, sometimes leading to slightly contradictory results. In his article about the early and Middle Bronze Age in the eastern Carpathian Basin, F. Gogâltan placed the Wietenberg II ceramic style between c. 1900–1700 BC.¹⁷ Bălan *et al.* proposed a new chronological scheme for the evolution of the culture, making a tripartite division.¹⁸ The Early Wietenberg Phase was dated between the 20th

¹¹ The data was calibrated with IntCal 13 atmospheric curve (REIMER ET AL. 2013).

¹² BĂLAN ET AL. 2018, 199.

¹³ CIUGUDEAN–QUINN 2015, 150–151.

¹⁴ PAUL 1995, 196.

¹⁵ PALINCAȘ ET AL. 2019, 40; WHITLOW ET AL. 2013, 38.

¹⁶ CIUGUDEAN–QUINN 2015, 150.

¹⁷ GOGÂLTAN 2015, 77.

¹⁸ BĂLAN ET AL. 2016, 67–92.

and the first half of the 18th centuries BC, while the second, Classical Wietenberg Phase lasted from the mid 18th to the 16th centuries BC.¹⁹ The data from Țufalău / Cófálva fits into the second half of the first period and the first half of second period, although the lack of complex motifs described in the Classical Phase suggests an earlier dating, towards the end of the Early Wietenberg Phase. A critical view of the radio-carbon dating of the Wietenberg culture has recently been made in Palincaș *et al.* 2019.²⁰ In the authors' opinion most of the probes were not reliable because "of a failure to respect the methodological requirements specific to the sample material."²¹ Based on new data from Derșida, the Wietenberg II period (layer 3) should be dated between approximately "1800 BC, or somewhat earlier" and 1750 cal BC.

Until recently only one discovery belonging to the Middle Bronze Age was known in the vicinity of the village of Țufalău / Cófálva, namely the famous golden treasure.²² The recent field surveys have brought to light several traces of settlement, among which four, including the above-presented cemetery, belong to the Wietenberg culture. These discoveries have made possible not just the reconstruction of the local settlement network, but also the context of the treasure.²³

East of the cemetery is situated a Middle Bronze Age settlement, belonging to the Wietenberg culture (Pl. I/3). The two sites are separated by a valley, probably a former river-bed.

The lack of complex decorative motifs on the pottery from the settlement suggests contemporaneity with the cemetery. Roughly 1,5 km north of these sites is a natural elevation, with settlement traces from the Neolithic to the Late Bronze Age and with the ruins of a Modern Age fortification (Pl. I/1). Recently ceramics belonging to the Wietenberg culture have also been discovered.²⁴ The dominant position of the site has enabled the control of the southern part of the Târgu Secuiesc Basin. Compared to the other sites near Țufalău / Cófálva this one probably had a higher rank in the settlement hierarchy, and can probably be interpreted as a centre. Two other settlements are known from the area. One is situated on the right bank of the Păpăuț stream (Pl. I/2), while the other is on the left bank of the Covasna stream (Pl. I/4). The ceramics discovered at both sites are decorated with simple motifs, made with incision and channelling techniques. In 1840 somewhere east of these settlements the famous golden treasure of Țufalău / Cófálva was discovered. The exact location is unknown but it seems it was found east of the village, near the road to Brateș/Barátos. The most probable place of discovery is near a small hill, at the limit between habitable (dry) and unsuitable (wet, marshy) areas for settlement. The treasure suggests the presence of a wealthy leader (or leaders) in the area, who had the power to obtain the raw material for these artefacts or the finished products.

In this article we have presented a recently-discovered Middle Bronze Age cemetery from Țufalău / Cófálva. Aside from the cemetery recent field surveys have also brought to light three other settlements of the same period. The cemetery very likely belonged to the

communities living in one or more of these settlements. The world of the living and the dead was well defined, the two areas being separated by a valley.

Țufalău / Cófálva is known from the archaeological literature since the 1840's, when a

¹⁹ BĂLAN ET AL. 2016, 80, 82.

²⁰ PALINCAȘ ET AL. 2019, 38–51.

²¹ PALINCAȘ ET AL. 2019, 38, 47.

²² CAVRUC 1998, 55, nr. 93.

²³ PUSKÁS 2018, 1–12.

²⁴ PUSKÁS 2015, 99–100.

treasure of gold was discovered. However, until recently the location of the deposit has not been found within the local settlement network, because of the lack of contemporary settlement traces.

The settlement density, as along with the golden hoard, suggests the importance of the area. Since important natural resources such as salt, copper, tin and gold are missing in the Târgu Secuiesc Basin, the wealth of the inhabitants was provided by other means. Very likely an important role was played by the strategic

control of the various nearby routes.

An important result of the present paper is a radiocarbon dating of one of the graves (G 2). Even though we do not have a direct link between the cemetery and the golden hoard, very likely they are contemporaneous, and belong to the early phase of the Wietenberg culture (Wietenberg A-B/II). The hoard belongs to the Hajdúsámson horizon, dated to the Reinecke Bz A2b-c period,²⁵ in absolute terms meaning the 18th – 17th centuries BC.²⁶

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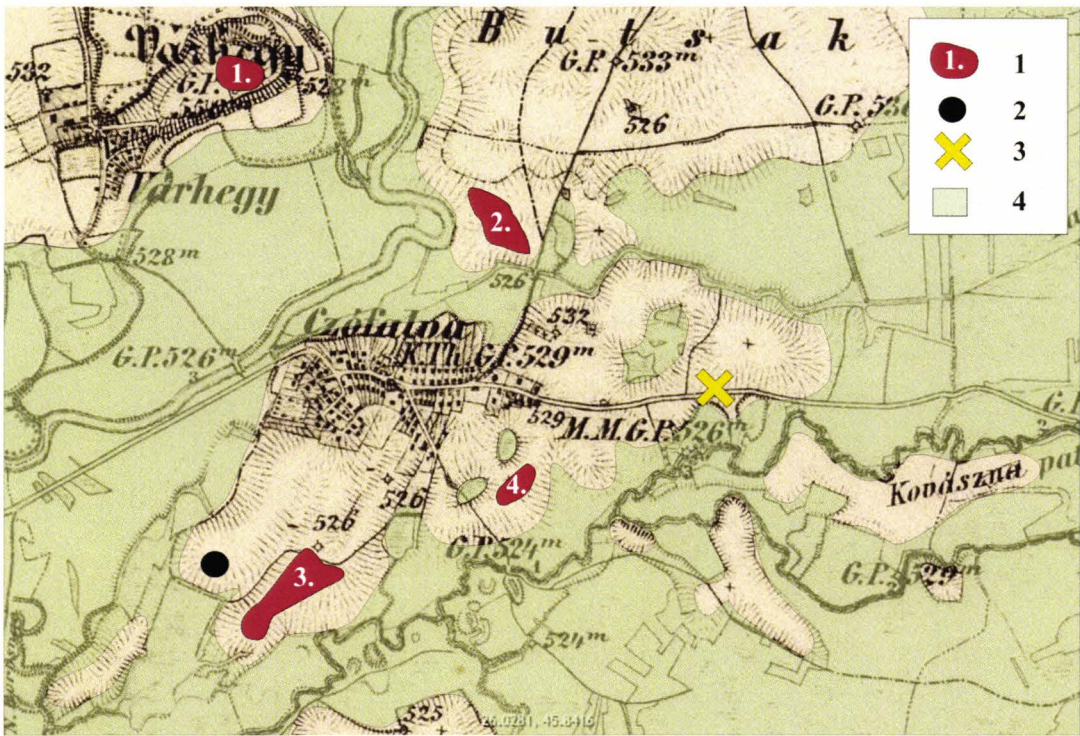
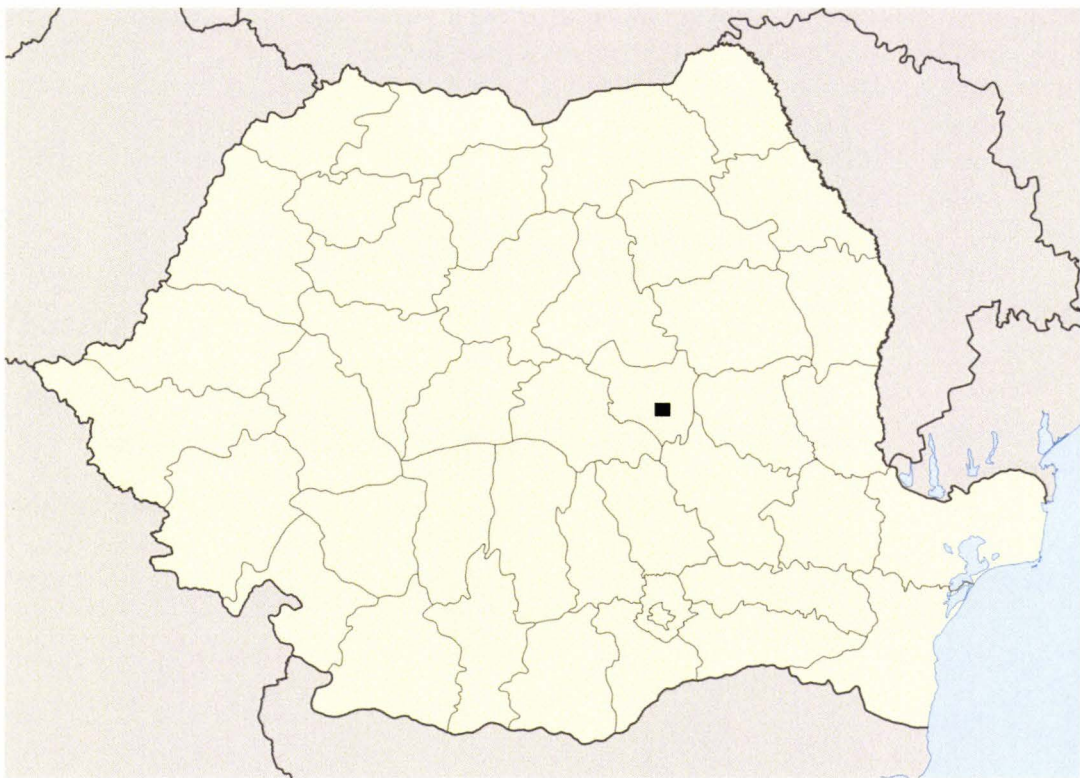


Plate I. The location of the site within Romania (upper) and Tufalău / Cofalva (lower).
1. settlements; 2. cemetery from the Alámenő I. site;
3. approximate location of the golden hoard; 4. unsuitable areas for settling.

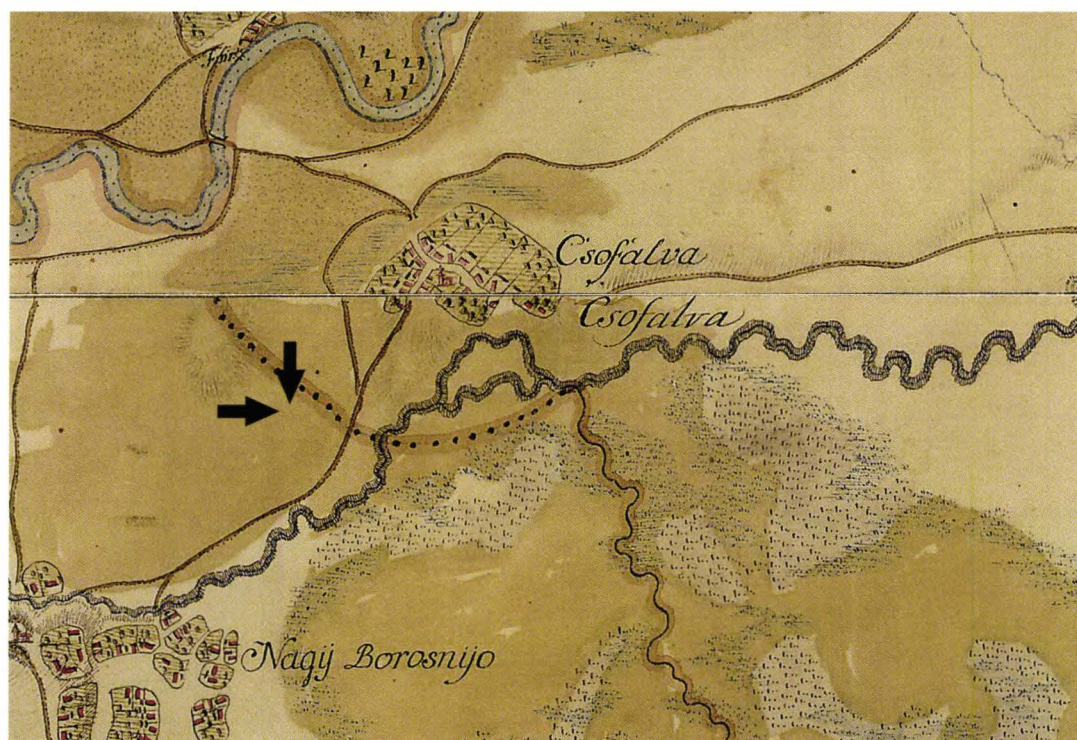


Plate II. The location of the cemetery on the 1st (upper) and 2nd (lower) Military Survey of the Habsburg Empire.

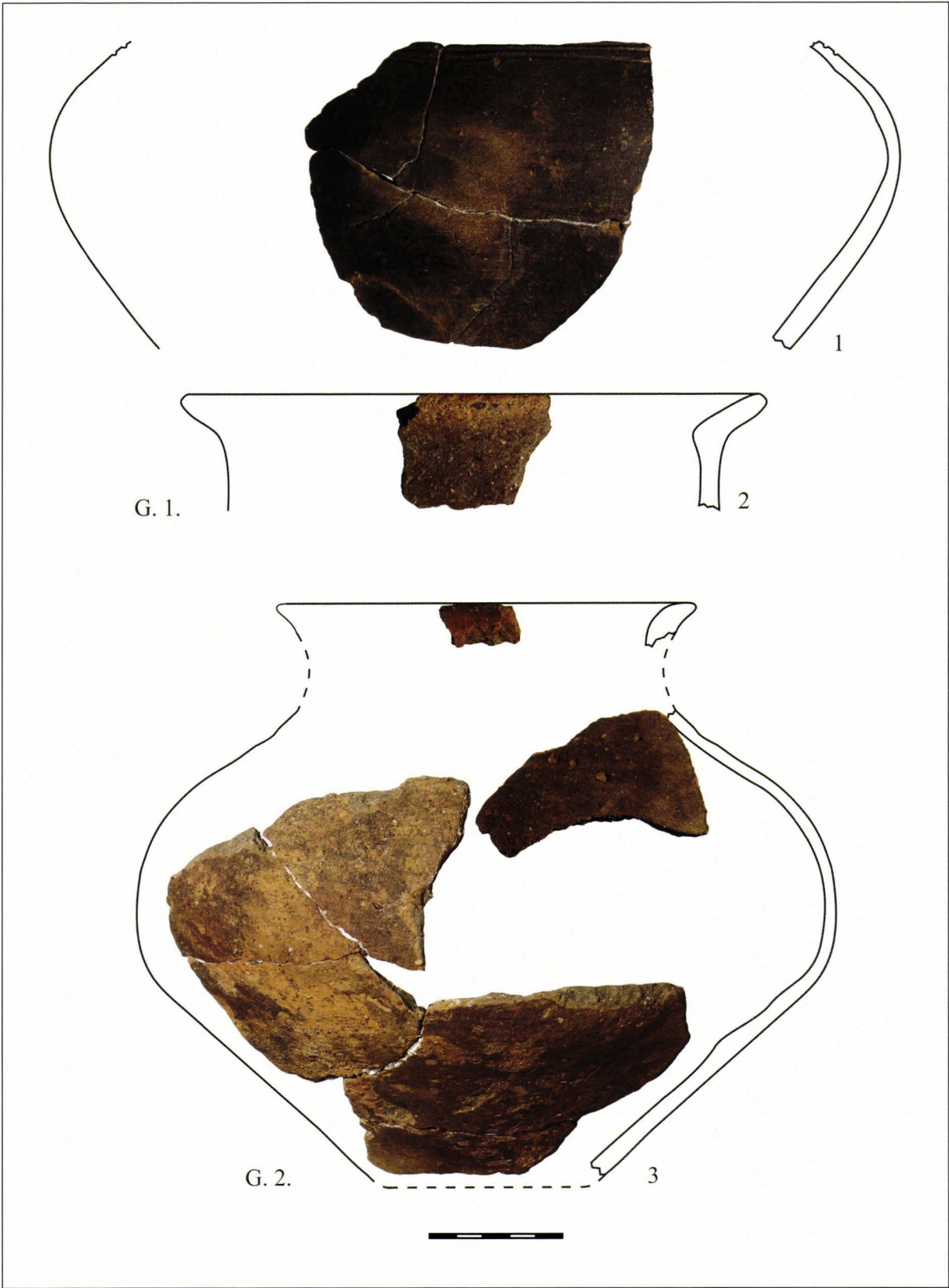


Plate III. Ceramics from G 1 (1-2) and G 2 (3).

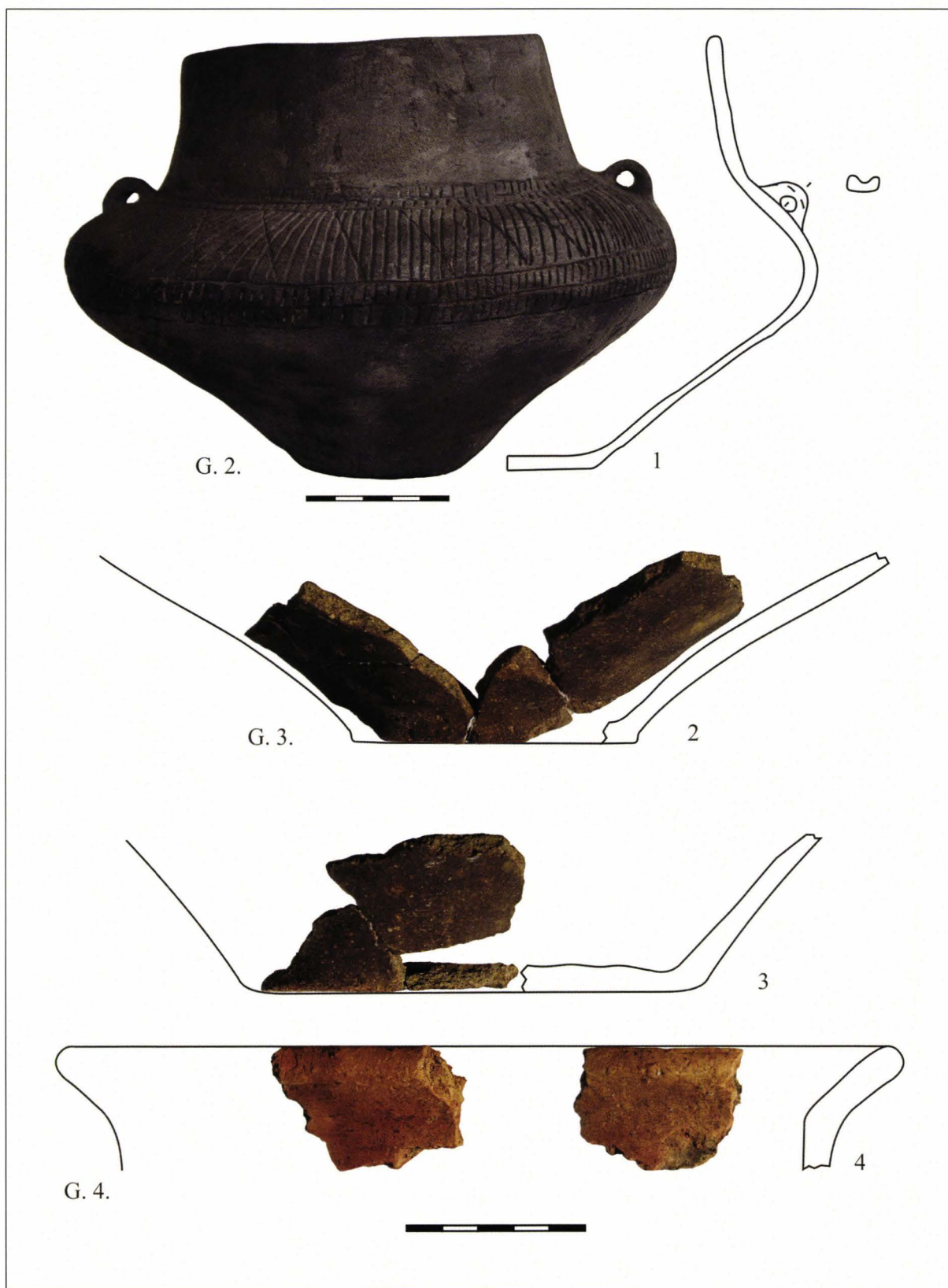


Plate IV. Ceramics from G 2 (1), G 3 (2-3) and G 4 (4).

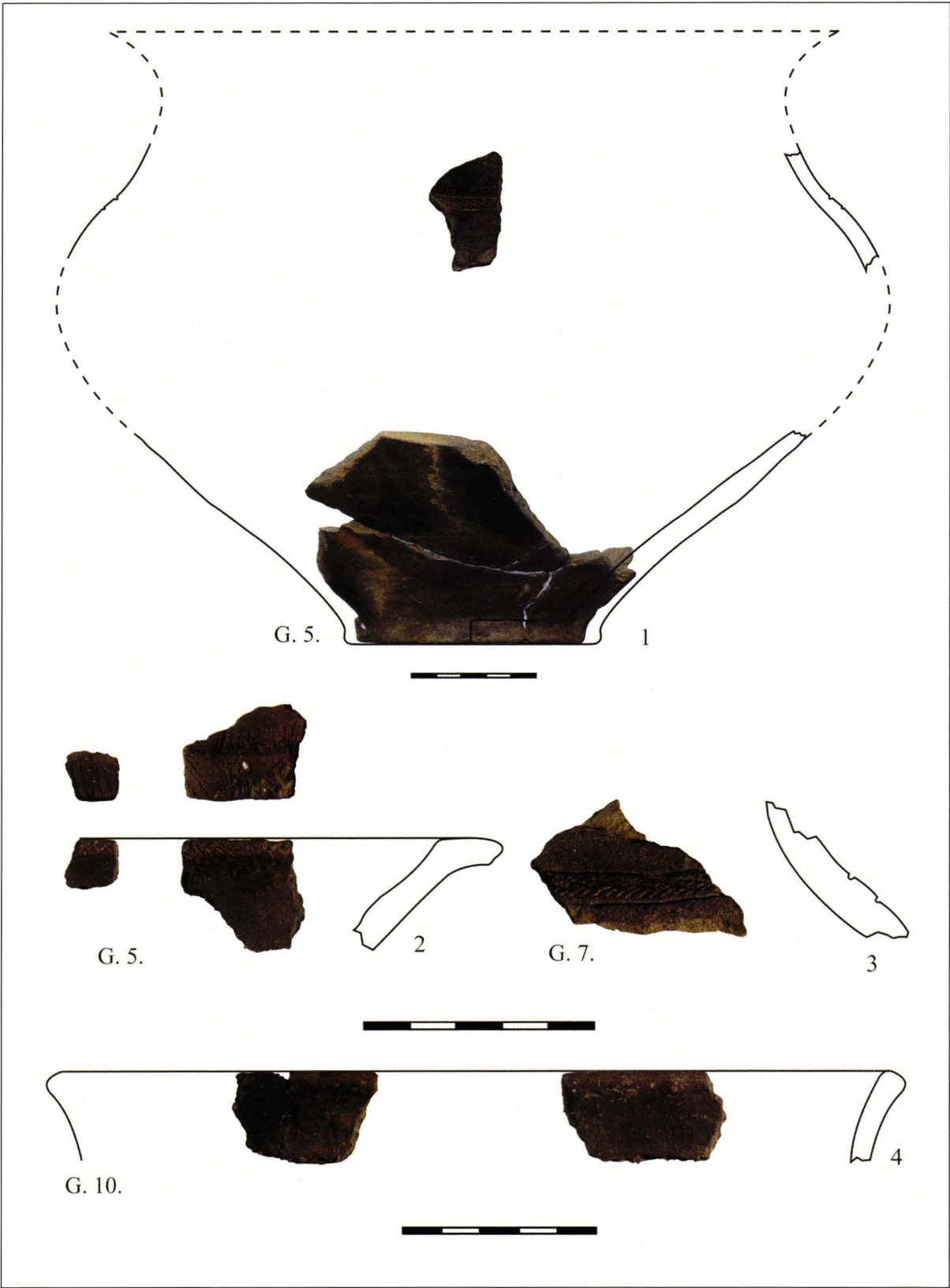


Plate V. Ceramics from G 5 (1-2), G 7 (3) and G 10 (4).

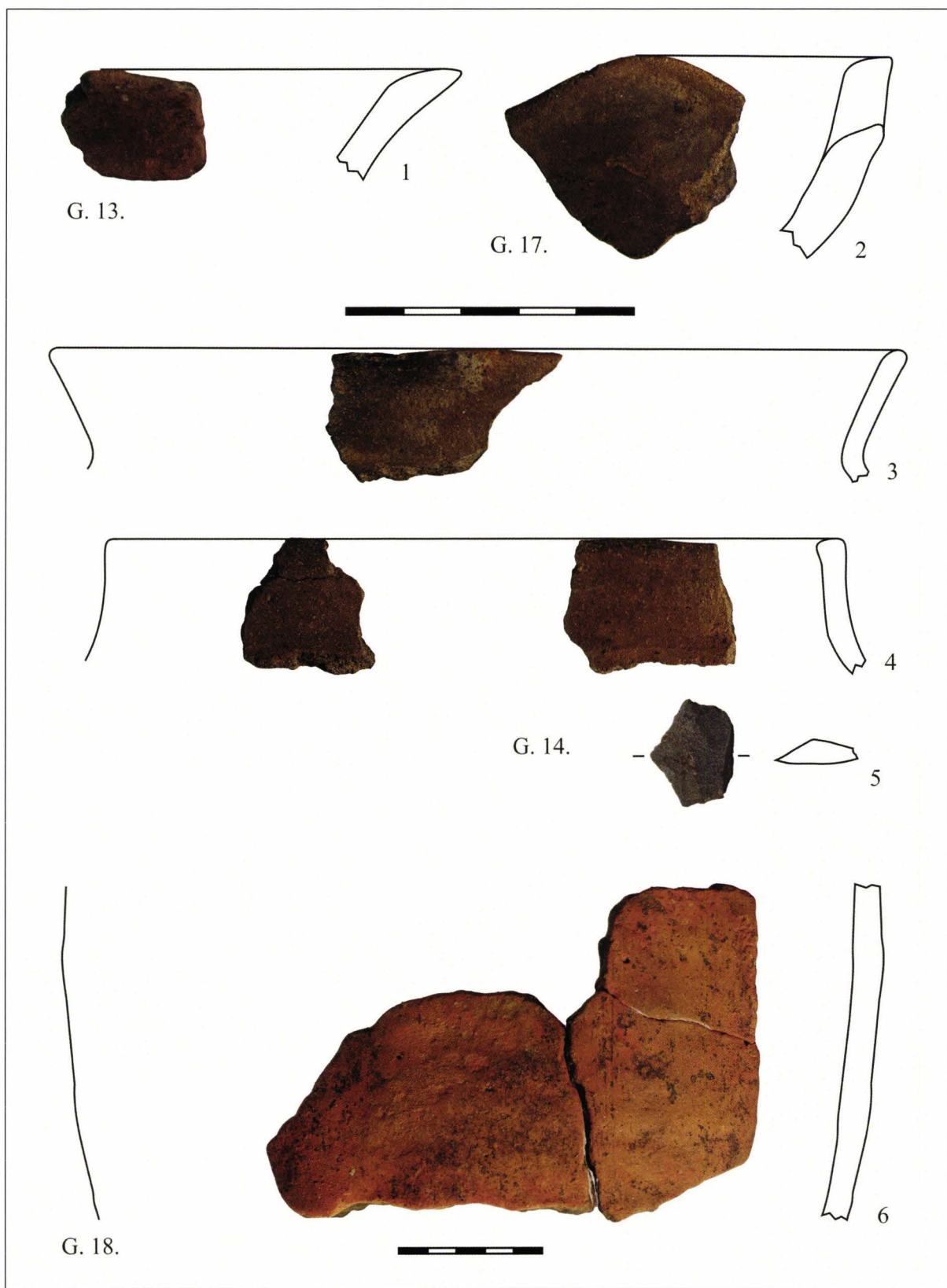


Plate VI. Ceramics from G 13 (1), G 14 (3-5), G 17 (2) and G 18 (6).



G. 3.



G. 4.



G. 5.



G. 7.



G. 8.



G. 11.



G. 12.



G. 16.



G. 17.



G. 18.

Plate VII. The different groupings at the time of discovery.

WEAPON IN THE ATTIC. A LATE BRONZE AGE SWORD REDISCOVERED

Botond REZI^{*}

Recently the Mureş County Museum acquired a full-hilted sword. Due to the lack of any archaeological context the paper focuses primarily on technological and metallurgical aspects, thus trying to decipher a very particular biography of the artefact. It is a low-quality but good looking weapon which despite visible casting faults was neatly worked and decorated and seemingly never used. The adornment of the hilt points towards Central European connections being a remote representative of the eastern Alpine metallurgical center.

Keywords: stray find, technology, casting faults, decoration, Late Bronze Age

Cuvinte cheie: descoperire incidentală, tehnologie, defecte de turnare, ornament, epoca Bronzului Târziu

FIND CIRCUMSTANCES

In the autumn of 2019 the Mureş County Museum purchased a full-hilted sword from Sandina Costin a resident of Hărtău (Mureş County; Hu: Harcó), house nr. 125. The prehistoric weapon was found by the father or brother of the aforementioned lady, during the repair of the roof tiles of a nearby stable. The sword was found already broken and the two pieces were used to support the tiles. The family didn't know about the presence of the bronze artefact. It is not known how did the sword wind up in the attic, or who and when acquired it. It is obvious that the location Hărtău needs to be considered a secondary findspot (Fig. 1). The original find circumstances of the sword are undeterminable,

therefore the newly discovered artefact needs to be regarded as a find with 'unknown place of discovery'.

Because the potential offered by this material is limited and the archaeological context is entirely missing and cannot be reconstructed the paper will focus primarily on technological and metallurgical aspects, and secondly on typological and chronological assessments. Although precise information on the depositional context is unknown the adornment of the sword is outstanding for this part of the Carpathian Basin and it shows great similarities with a distant Central European sword type.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECT

Broken but complete full-hilted sword (Fig. 2) with three horizontal ribs on the grip and a

round-shaped pommel that ends with a conical knob. The transition between the pommel disc

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Fig. 1. The place of recovery of the sword.

and the grip is smooth, without any thickening or ribbing (*Echinus*). The grip slightly broadens in the middle and reaches its maximum width in the area of the central rib. It has an oval cross-section. The shoulders of the hilt are curved and the corners of the guards are slightly rounded as well. In between a U-shaped recess with a round sunken rivet on either side fixes the blade into the hilt. The sword has an elongated and smooth ricasso. The blade broadens gradually almost near the tip and reaches its greatest width in the lower third. It has a lengthwise, well-pronounced central rib flanked by a shallow parallel rib on either side. These slightly fade away at 2–3 cm from the tip. The blade has a lens-shaped cross-section.

The entire hilt is richly decorated but somehow clumsily executed. The side of the knob is covered by four horizontal and evenly distributed chased lines. The upper side of the pommel disc is decorated with nine identical motifs, which are composed from three concentrically arranged semicircles pointed outwards. Between them three radially punched lines starting from the edge point towards the conical knob. Six of the presumably nine such lines are missing. The lower side of the pommel disc is decorated with three concentrically arranged punched lines. The exterior line is situated near the edge of the pommel disc, the inner line around the base of the oval grip, while the

middle line is evenly arranged between the two. Under the pommel disc and above the upper rib the grip is decorated with a three times twisted spiral motif (*Archimedean spiral*), flanked by a vertically placed punched line on each margin. Between the three ribs two identical motifs appear: three times twisted spiral motifs are executed near each of the grip's margins and they are bind together by a diagonally placed line connecting the top of one of the spirals with the bottom of the other one. Under the lower rib two small decorations appear with two times twisted spirals near the margins of the grip. One of the patterns has a third spiral arm. The direction and elaboration of the spirals is always the same, starting from the middle and expanding towards right. The decoration of the grip is similar on both sides.

The traces of prehistoric use and wear are not visible. The cutting edges and the tip of the sword bear traces of prehistoric sharpening in spite of the fact that the sharpening striations are not noticeable. The entire artefact is wonderfully manufactured. The casting remains were carefully removed. Traces of hammering are visible on one side of the U-shaped recess and around the tip of the blade. Both hilt and blade, but mainly the latter one, have many micro cavities which suggest a deficient and superficial casting. The artefact has modern deterioration marks as well. The moderate bending,

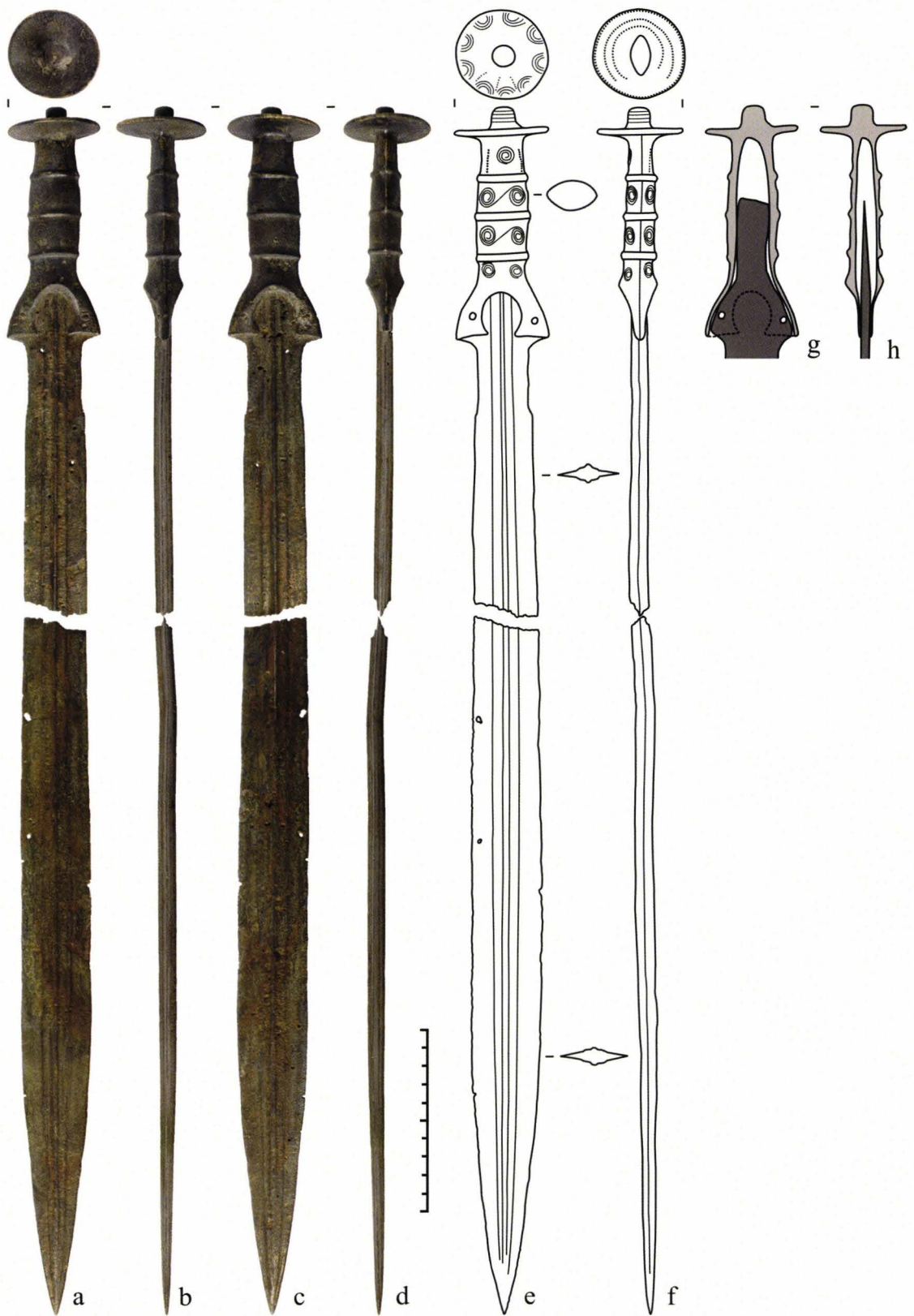


Fig. 2. The newly discovered sword after restoration.

the breakage, minor cracks near the breakage line, traces of grinding, cutting through corrosion layers, and small notches on the cutting edge suggest that the artefact was manipulated in recent times. The hilt is better preserved and has a uniform dark green patina, which flaked off from the edge of the pommel disc, from the upper part of the grip and from the shoulders of the sword. The blade is poorly preserved, as several layers of corrosion expose the yellowish surface of the metal. Still, on scattered small

areas the dark green patina is visible. Dimensions: total length: 64.6 cm; length of the hilt: 12.3 cm; length of the blade: 52.3 cm; diameter of the pommel disc: 5 × 4.8 cm; thickness of the pommel disc: 0.3 cm; maximum width of the hilt: 2.9 cm; width of the guard: 5.1 cm; thickness of the guard: 0.7 cm; maximum width of the blade: 3.8 cm; thickness of the blade: 1 cm; weight of the fragmented upper part: 379.5 g; weight of the fragmented lower part: 348.5; total weight: 728 g.

TECHNOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

From technological point of view, the sword is an acceptably manufactured artefact with carefully elaborated interventions, such as the removal of the casting traces, hammering, and decoration. The hilt is well-worked, it is symmetrical in profile, thus the moulds were aligned properly.¹ The three ribs are not perfectly horizontal as they have a slight inclination. Casting remains can be seen only on the inner side of one of the U-shaped recess, where the surface of the metal is choppy. In the same spot and on the edge of the recess traces of hammering are also visible (Fig. 3/1–2). The rest of the hilt is properly worked without any traces of use or wear.

The mounting of the hilt and blade is well-executed. The widening of the blade under the guard is symmetrical and the two sides of the guard bend firmly on it. The two rivets ensure a tight fit. There is a clearance between the blade and the thickest part of the U-shaped depression,² which continues under the grip as well until the pommel disc (Fig. 3/3–4). The blade has a medium flange, slightly trapezoidal-shaped from the front and wedge-shaped

from the side, which fits well into the hollow of the thick walled hilt. Medium or long flanges are mostly wedged into the hilt bar, while the most common short flanges sometimes do not have this fastening (Fig. 2/g, h, Fig. 4).³ This suggests that the blade's end fit well into the hilt, the hammering and riveting of the guard was enough to provide a solid joint.⁴ A thorough and intensive hammering of the thickest part of the recess was unnecessary.⁵ The casting of the blade and hilt represent two separate stages in sword production, the later stage being more complex and requiring more attention. Nonetheless, the inappropriately joint swords were most probably used for thrusting.⁶

The elaboration of the undecorated but lower quality blade is well-made. The ricasso is smooth without post-casting indentations (Fig. 2/a, c). The entire surface of the blade is neatly polished and worked. The cutting edges were evenly sharpened from the lower end of the ricasso until the tip of the blade. Subtle concave hammering⁷ can be observed in parts along the edge and around the tip (Fig. 3/5–7).

¹ For the probability of the use of clay moulds, see: SIEDLACZEK 2011, 111–114; SICHERL 2014, 113–115; POLA ET AL. 2015, 1637–1638; BUNNEFELD 2016a, 146–148. Alternative methods such as sand casting (BARBIERI ET AL. 2015, 99–101) or lost-wax-casting (MÖDLINGER 2011b, 153) has to be taken into consideration as well. See also WIRTH 2003, 114–128.

² Concerning the function of the U-shaped recess, see: MOLLOY 2007, 108; BUNNEFELD 2015, 37.

³ BRANDHERM–SICHERL 2001, 231–236; GRÖMER–MÖDLINGER 2005, 53; BUNNEFELD–SCHWENZER 2011, 219–224; SICHERL 2014, 108; BUNNEFELD 2016b, 398; BUNNEFELD 2018, 200.

⁴ HRISTOVA–NEKHRIZOV 2008, 14; MÖDLINGER–TRNKA 2009, 352.

⁵ MÖDLINGER 2011a, 45–46; MÖDLINGER 2011b, 156.

⁶ ČIVILYTĖ 2009, 99–101.

⁷ Concerning the difficulties of identifying such traces, see: WINIKER 2015, 21; HORN–KARCK 2019, 6.

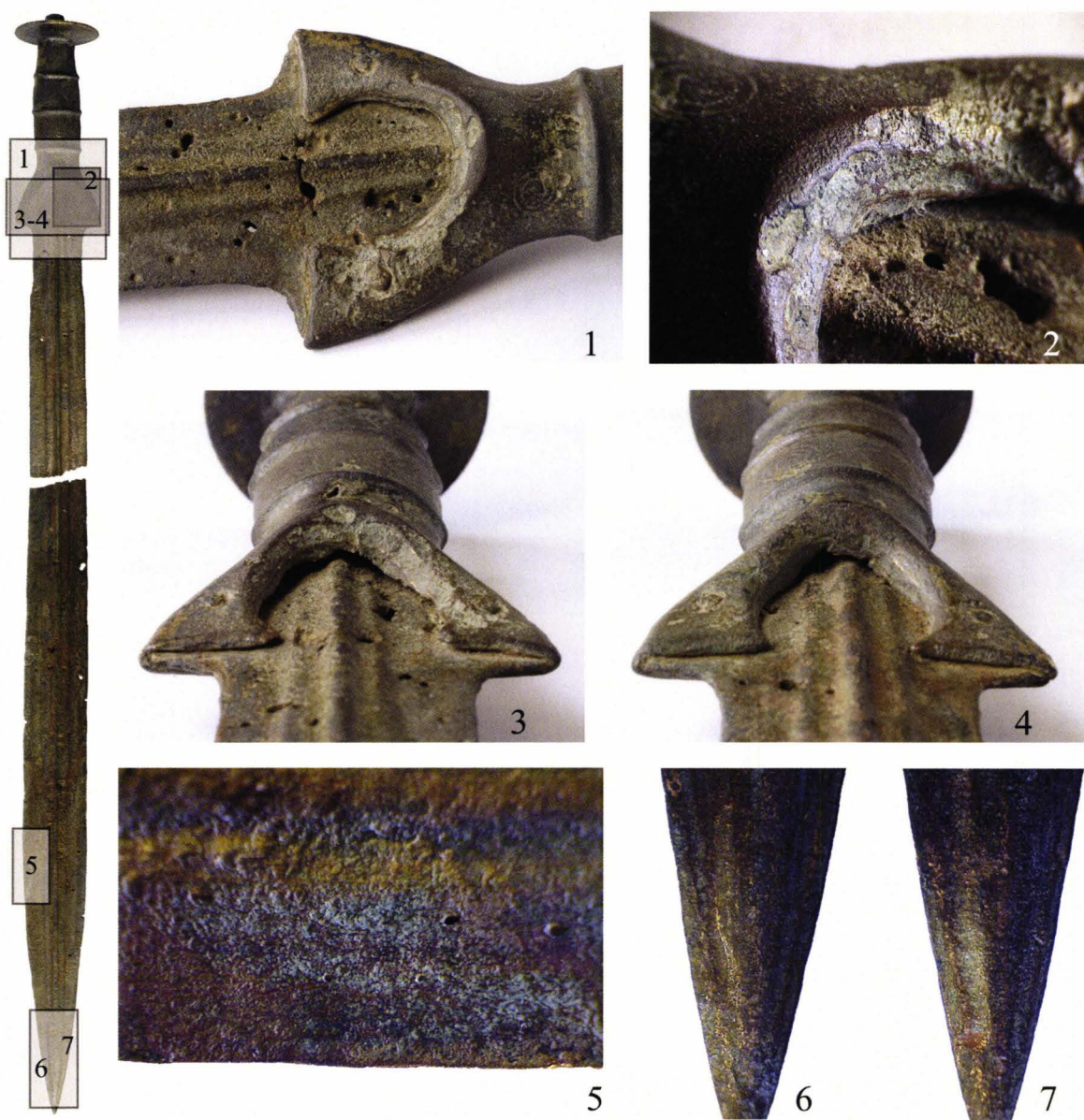


Fig. 3. Macroscopic observation of the sword with specific post-casting work traces: 1–2. hammering traces along the rim of the U-shaped recess; 3–4. gap between the hilt and the blade; 5. concave hammering traces along the cutting edge; 6–7. concave hammering traces around the tip.

Such cold working increased the hardness and sharpness of the edge⁸ but decreased its toughness.⁹ Although modern interventions affected the blade, large part of the edge is covered by patina but still, fine grinding traces are not visible along the edges.

The grip and the pommel disc are the only decorated parts of the artefact. Although it has a uniform and thought-out pattern parts of its execution display superficiality or even lack of experience. The motifs are not always perfectly drawn and sometimes the chased and punched

⁸ HOFMANN ET AL. 1982, 153–155; MÖDLINGER–NTAFLOS 2009, 195–196; MÖDLINGER 2011a, 46; MÖDLINGER 2011b, 163; MOLLOY 2011, 69, 71; MOLLOY 2018, 88–89.

⁹ MOLLOY 2011, 75; HORN–VON HOLSTEIN 2017, 91.



Fig. 4. Computer tomography of the sword.

patterns are alternating unevenly. Similar inaccurate execution is quite common on Late Bronze Age swords.¹⁰ The pommel disc is decorated on both sides, but unfortunately the decoration is not visible on the entire surface. It is common for the corrosion to affect decoration too and can lead to its eradication, but this is not the case here. On its exterior surface, the motives with three concentrically arranged semicircles around the edge (Fig. 5/1) are arranged unevenly and the distance between

three of the motifs is larger than between the others. This suggests that the planning of the decoration was not properly conceived and its execution changed during the decoration process (Fig. 2/a, e). Furthermore, not every radially arranged dotted line was implemented (Fig. 5/2), as out of nine possible lines only three are visible (Fig. 2/a, e, Fig. 7/1). Parts of the concentrically punched lines on the lower side of the pommel disc are missing as well (Fig. 5/3). This latter absence however, can be the result of inappropriate preservation. Another hasty execution can be seen between the shoulder and the lower rib of the hilt. Slight shift is visible on the two spirals above the shoulders, on both sides of the sword, the rightward being always lower. One of them has a third, dotted spiral arm, with insecure execution and blurry outlines, as if one was trying to eliminate a mistake of late notice (Fig. 5/8). Nevertheless, the proportions of the patterns defined by their place on the hilt is well-kept and set out.

As in the case of many similar swords, the fine ornamentation was executed after casting.¹¹ The gravers and punches made from bronze had a higher tin content and were additionally hardened by hammering in the cold material state.¹² Late Bronze Age artefacts were decorated using a multitude of auxiliary tools, depending on the respective ornament.¹³ In this particular case several distinct decoration traces can be observed, such as dotted lines (Fig. 5/2–3, 7, 9), semicircles (Fig. 5/1), and curved lines (Fig. 5/5–6). Based on their form and dimension the dotted motifs were executed with two different sized and shaped punches: a smaller and round one was used for the upper side of the pommel disc and above the upper rib as well as a larger and wedge-shaped one for the lower side of the disc. It seems that the main decoration elements between the ribs of the grip were executed with the first one, only the distribution of the dots is denser, giving the impression of a continuous line. The four smaller spirals under

¹⁰ MÖDLINGER–NTAFLOS 2009, 196; MÖDLINGER 2011a, 42–45; WINIKER 2015, 18–19.

¹¹ BUNNEFELD–SCHWENZER 2011, 225; BUNNEFELD 2015, 35–36.

¹² MÖDLINGER–TRNKA 2009, 352.

¹³ REZI 2013 with older literature.



Fig. 5. Detailed photos with the decoration of the hilt: 1. continuously chased arched lines on the upper side of the pommel disc; 2–3. chased dotted lines on the upper and lower side of the pommel disc; 4. chased lines on the knob; 5–6. spiral motifs with dense dotted lines between the ribs; 7. chased dotted line between the spirals; 8. spiral motif with faulty execution; 9. chased dotted line under the pommel disc.

the lower rib most probably were executed with an obliquely held prolonged or slightly curved edged chaser. The width and depth of the marks are almost identical to the arched motifs found on the upper side of the pommel disc. Even though the arched motifs on the upper side of the pommel disc look similar their tracing and size varies so the use of semi-circular punches cannot be accepted. Presumably the lines on the knob were executed with a straight edged chaser. So it is probable that three or maybe four distinct punches were used for the decoration of the hilt: a round edged punch, a wedge-shaped punch, a straight edged punch, and a slightly

curved punch. The wedge-shaped dotted line could have been implemented with the edge corner of a straight edged punch as well (Fig. 6).

From a technological point of view, the only shortcoming of the sword is the multitude of round, oval, and irregular cavities which are present on the entire surface in alternating density (Fig. 4). The knob displays a large defective surface at its base, in the area of the three radially arranged dotted lines (Fig. 7/1). Two larger casting faults can be observed on one of the shoulders and on the opposite side around the rivet (Fig. 7/3–4). Few micro cavities are visible on the grip. On the other hand, the blade

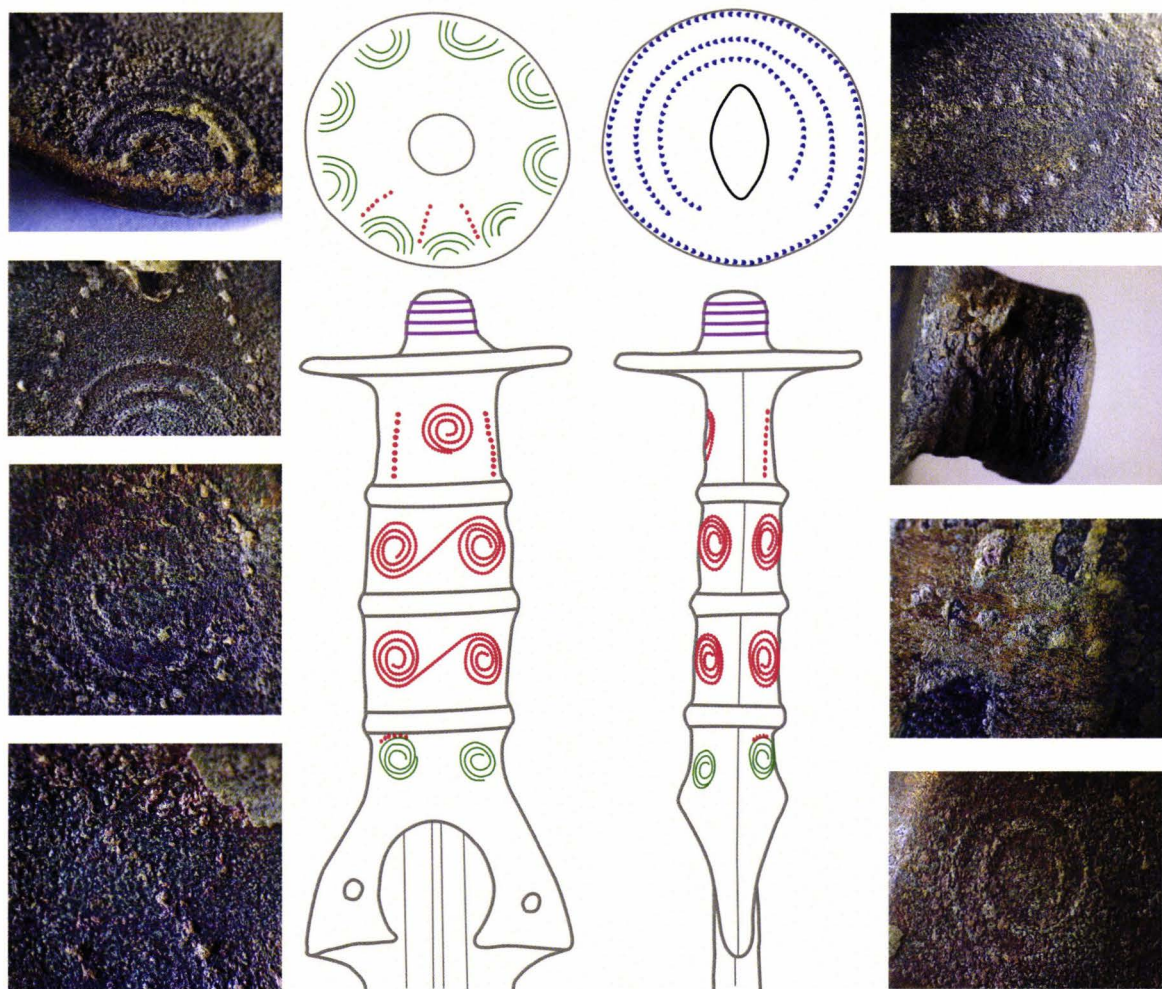


Fig. 6. Distinguishable chasing marks on the hilt executed with different punches: round edged punch (red), wedge-shaped punch (blue), straight edged punch (purple), slightly curved punch (green).

is densely covered by such porosities. The lower part of the blade, around 14 cm from the tip is roughly devoid of areas with porosity, but the middle and upper section is heavily affected. For this reason, the blade near the guard and the ricasso has a 'spongy' aspect (Fig. 7/7–8). These cavities affect the depth of the entire material/blade, as the point of breakage of the modern intervention confirms (Fig. 7/5–6). As a result of these tiny air bubbles the thinner parts of the blade were effectively pierced. The cutting edge

is affected as well (Fig. 7/11). At the same time, the tiny cavities affected especially one side of the blade, while the other one has a smoother surface. This could be the result of a not fully dried,¹⁴ an insufficiently heated or bad quality (excess lime) clay mould,¹⁵ or even the lack of gas-escape channels.¹⁶ Thereby, on the more deteriorated side the central rib is altered as well, showing a corroded-like surface (Fig. 7/10).

The concentration of casting faults and porosity can indicate the direction of the poring

¹⁴ MÖDLINGER–NTAFLOS 2009, 195.

¹⁵ BORN–HANSEN 1991, 149; MOLLOY 2011, 69.

¹⁶ BRANDHERM 2007, 159.

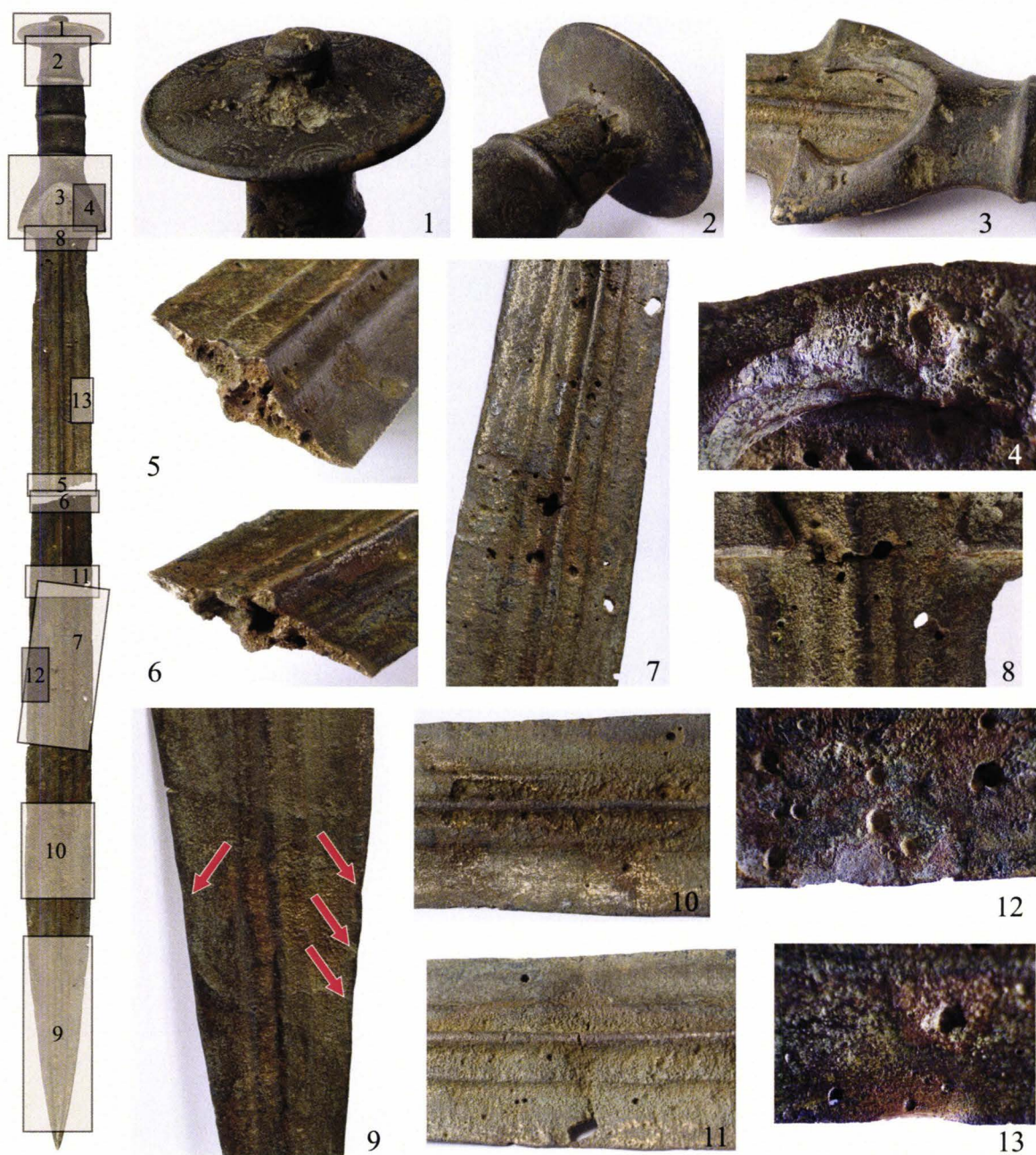


Fig. 7. Macroscopic observation of the sword with casting faults and recent deterioration marks: 1. casting fault at the base of the knob; 2. casting fault under the pommel disc; 3-4. casting faults on the shoulders and around the rivet; 5-6. porosity visible in cross-section; 7-8. gas-porosity traces on the surface of the blade; 9. incomplete filling; 10. corroded-like surface due to porosity; 11. recent crack across the blade; 12-13. recent chipped cutting edge.

gate,¹⁷ in this case on the upper end of the blade (Fig. 1/a, c, Fig. 4). The weakest point of a sword used for slashing is the area, where the hilt and blade are joint together.¹⁸ The recently discovered sword encompasses most of the micro cavities in this area, thus becoming inappropriate for intense use. Similar conclusion based on comparable observations was put forward for other swords as well.¹⁹

This sword had all the visual signs of an uncertain quality weapon making it less than ideal for performing its intended task. The sword probably did look equally 'bad' to its original user just as it looks deficient for a modern observer.²⁰ Still, not all swords that appear imperfect were destined for recycling. Tolerable casting faults and imperfect weapons were acceptable as long as they served the purpose and needs of the manufacturer or owner.²¹ Badly crafted swords with large casting pores can exhibit clear damage traces²² suggesting an intensive use despite their poor condition. Others were richly adorned in order to compensate the inferior quality, showing that at that time a weapon's aesthetic function was just as important as its function.²³

Regarding its usability, it is important to stress that the heavy deterioration traces visible on the artefact are the results of modern interventions. The breakage, the slight bending on the blade, and several small notches on the cutting edge are recent manipulations (Fig. 2/b, d, Fig. 7/12–13). The casting quality is rather low

around the broken line, as shown by the many pores in the cross-section (Fig. 7/5–6), thus the modern deterioration is understandable, despite the fact that it is not the weakest point of the weapon. Although the size and weight, the execution of the hilt, the outline of the blade support a proper usability,²⁴ pre-depositional usage is difficult to reveal, as clear traces are not discernible. The recent interventions on the blade prevent the possibility to detect re-sharpening striations on the edges as the original surface is lost. At a distance of 6–9 cm from the tip one of the cutting edges narrow closer to the midrib (Fig. 7/9). Such an asymmetrical outline is often found on Bronze Age swords and interpreted as repair or re-sharpening marks.²⁵ Similar traces cannot be seen elsewhere on the blade, not even on the surfaces with traces of patina. Therefore, this irregular line can be seen as an erroneous filling of the mould, or this part of the blade could have also required repair to eradicate casting flaws immediately after production.²⁶

No large indentations, notches, blow marks, medium to strong curvatures or other plastic deformations are visible on the sword, which could be linked to traces created in combat with bronze swords, spears, metal shields or other hard objects.²⁷ The damage that is present on Late Bronze Age swords is rarely severe,²⁸ except on examples that have been intentionally disfigured or 'killed' according to cultural-specific norms.²⁹ Still, the number and intensity of use-wear traces seem to depend on the hardness

¹⁷ MÖDLINGER 2007, 104; BUNNEFELD-SCHWENZER 2011, 219; MÖDLINGER 2011a, 33; SICHERL 2014, 106.

¹⁸ MÖDLINGER-NTAFLOS 2009, 193; MÖDLINGER-TRNKA 2009, 351–352; MÖDLINGER 2011b, 154–155.

¹⁹ DANI ET AL. 2013, 44; WINIKER 2015, 20.

²⁰ GENER 2011, 121.

²¹ COLQUHOUN 2011, 55–56.

²² MOLLOY 2017, 19.

²³ ČIVILYTĖ 2009, 100.

²⁴ MÖDLINGER 2011b, 163–164; KRISTIANSEN 2002, 320–321; MOLLOY 2011, 74–75; BUNNEFELD 2015, 37; KRISTIANSEN-SUCHOWSKA-DUCKE 2015, 367–369; WINIKER 2015, 21–26; MOLLOY-HORN 2020, 122–126.

²⁵ KRISTIANSEN 1984, 188–194; KRISTIANSEN 2002, 323–326; THRANE 2006; HORN-VON HOLSTEIN 2017, 93; BUNNEFELD 2018, 200–201; HORN-KARCK 2019, 6.

²⁶ HORN 2013, 14; HORN 2017, 528.

²⁷ BRIDGFORD 1997; YORK 2002; QUILLIEC 2008; COLQUHOUN 2011, 56; MATTHEWS 2011; MOLLOY 2011, 75–76; HORN 2013, 3, 13–17; BUNNEFELD 2014, 49–50; GUTIÉRREZ SÁEZ-LERMA 2015, 176–180; HORN 2017; HORN-VON HOLSTEIN 2017, 91–92; TARBAY 2017, 82–83; PUSKÁS 2020, pl. 5–6.

²⁸ MOLLOY 2007, 107–108; MOLLOY 2017, 18.

²⁹ BRIDGFORD 1997; NEBELSICK 2000; HORN 2011; MÖRTZ 2018, 174–178.

and malleability of the raw material, determined primarily by the amount of the tin content.³⁰ The broadest part of the blade,³¹ where supposedly a slashing sword was used the most, and was effective when pulled along a surface on impact presents no usage traces either. The micro indentations visible on the cutting edge, other than the modern deteriorations, were created by the defective releasing gases.³² No wear traces can be observed on the edges of the shoulders, on the grip, on the ribs, and on the pommel disc either.³³ The tip is not broken, the rivets are not worn out or torn out, which could suggest an intensive use.³⁴ The high number of micro cavities challenge the usability of the weapon.³⁵ Thus, based on our observations we can assess that the sword was worked after casting and it seems that it was never used. Unfortunately, no information is available regarding the find circumstances and place of discovery of the find, but as the technological evaluation indicates it can be stated that the newly discovered sword had a very specific purpose and an extremely short life.

In spite of the missing archaeological context the above presented technological description can help us to answer several basic questions, which can offer a general picture about the life-cycle of this weapon:

1. Is it a good quality casting or not? From technological point of view, the sword is an acceptable artefact and cannot be classified as a waste product. Taking into account the final outlines the flow of the bronze had an optimal

state and temperature, thus the smallest parts of the moulds were filled.³⁶ Besides the area near the tip, no incomplete fillings are noticeable on other parts of the weapon.

2. What are the defects of the artefact? The blow holes and many pores represent the only deficiency of the weapon. In this respect there is a visible difference between the casting quality of the hilt and blade, the latter one being much more affected. Even so, as the casting result was the first thing the prehistoric metalworker set eyes on and undoubtedly the micro cavities were already visible at that point, the elaboration, the sharpening, and decoration of the artefact were still carried out. This suggests that these variable sized casting defects were considered tolerated imperfections.

3. Was it processed? The post-casting working of the sword is very good. The casting remains were carefully removed both from the hilt and blade. Slightly uncertain handling can be noticed in the decoration but still, it has a uniform and thought-out pattern.

4. Was it used? Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to separate prehistoric wear and usage mark. The very small indentations most probably can be linked to recent interventions. The larger ones are the by-products of the tiny air bubbles that formed the cavities. Along the cutting edge, where the ancient patina is still present no use-wear or re-sharpening can be seen. This suggests that the sword was finished and most probably never used.

STYLISTIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As an artefact without any archaeological context the discussion of detailed typo-chronological problems shall be avoided. Only

common aspects will be highlighted. The general form of the presented artefact (form of the knob, disc pommel, grip, the curvature

³⁰ SORIANO LLOPIS-GUTIERREZ SÁEZ 2009, 118–120; GUTIÉRREZ SÁEZ–LERMA 2015, 173.

³¹ MOLLOY 2007, 105–107; MOLLOY 2017, 18.

³² See also FONTIJN ET AL. 2012, 207.

³³ KRISTIANSEN 2002, 330–331; TARBAY 2016, 10–14.

³⁴ MÖDLINGER–TRNKA 2009, 354; MÖDLINGER 2011b, 164.

³⁵ BORN–HANSEN 1991, 149–150; ČIVILYTĖ 2009, 101.

³⁶ Unfortunately, we didn't have the opportunity to conduct metallographic analysis. Thus, the exact properties of the casting material and its suitability for cold working and fighting cannot be evaluated.

of the shoulders, the half-circle recess) has an ordinary outline. The ornamentation deserves more attention, as it correlates the newly discovered weapon to the Erlach,³⁷ Erding³⁸ or N type 1st variant³⁹ of the full-hilted swords (*Dreiwulstschwerter*), being characteristic for the Eastern Alpine metallurgical region. The production center of the type is situated in the region of south Bavaria and Upper Austria, south of the Danube, between the Iller and Traun Rivers. From here they spread mainly towards Slovakia, western Hungary, northern Serbia, and northern Croatia. Remote finds were discovered in Switzerland, Rhineland-Palatinate region, eastern France, Poland, and Ukraine.⁴⁰

Despite the fact that it shows great similarities with the Erlach type it has a specific elaboration. The execution of the ornamentation is simplistic compared to the general pattern of the mentioned type.⁴¹ While the Erlach type has three combined spiral motives between the ribs the newly discovered sword is decorated with two spirals bind together by a diagonal line. The same over-simplified pattern appears on the shoulders and under the disc pommel as well.

An almost identical analogy is provided by the hilt from Corni (Suceava County, Romania).⁴² The distribution and proportions of the spiral pattern and the overall simplistic appearance are the same. It is classified as a distinct ornamented full-hilted sword type,⁴³ in close connection with the Erlach type. Unfortunately, its find circumstances are unsecure,

implicitly its dating is problematic.

Regarding the pommel disc another close parallel is the sword from Bingula-Divoš (Srem District, Serbia) with the same simplistic S-spiral design on its hilt and with an almost identical ornamentation on the upper side of the pommel disc. This sword is classified as a close variant of the Schwaig type.⁴⁴ The pommel disc of the sword from Vrútky (Turiec Region, Slovakia) shows great similarities with concentrically arranged semicircles and central circles on the upper side and two concentrically arranged punched lines on the lower side.⁴⁵ Its chronological position is unsecure. The upper side of the disc pommel from the Rinyaszentkirály hoard (Somogy County, Hungary) bears similar round-arched motives pointed outwards.⁴⁶ An uneven displacement of the ornamentation is visible as well. Together with the remainder objects the hoard is dated to HaA1. Further analogous patterns can be found on the lower side of the disc pommel on the finds from Kirchdorf (Biberach District, Germany),⁴⁷ Mining (Braunau District, Upper Austria),⁴⁸ Kuhardt (Rhineland-Palatinate Region, Germany)⁴⁹ and Kraiburh a. Inn (Bavaria Region, Germany)⁵⁰ with three concentrically punched lines, while the upper side of the disc pommel from Klettham (Bavaria Region, Germany)⁵¹ has very similar round-arched motives. The two latter parallels are classified in the slightly later dated Grundelsheim type swords. The sword from the Stenn tumulus (Saxony Region, Germany) has a

³⁷ MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, 7–13.

³⁸ QUILLFELDT 1995, 142–148.

³⁹ KEMENCZEI 1991, 29–30, Taf. 82A.

⁴⁰ MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, 10–11, Taf. 92/Karte 1; KRÄMER 1985, 26; KEMENCZEI 1991, 30, Taf. 82/A; QUILLFELDT 1995, 148, Taf. 122; HARDING 1995, 75, Taf. 53/A; STOCKHAMMER 2004, 77–86, Karte 21; NOVOTNÁ 2014, 41, Taf. 39; WINIKER 2015, 47, Taf. 28.

⁴¹ Regarding the overall aspect and characteristics of the ornamentation, see: QUILLFELDT 1995, 143–146.

⁴² IGNAT 1981, 139, fig. 4.

⁴³ BADER 1991, 138–139, Nr. 332; STOCKHAMMER 2004, 264.

⁴⁴ MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, 14, Taf. 9/8.

⁴⁵ NOVOTNÁ 2014, Taf. 6/31.

⁴⁶ KEMENCZEI 1991, Taf. 17/84.

⁴⁷ MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, Taf. 4/3.

⁴⁸ KRÄMER 1985, Taf. 10/55.

⁴⁹ QUILLFELDT 1995, Taf. 44/132.

⁵⁰ QUILLFELDT 1995, Taf. 49/146.

⁵¹ QUILLFELDT 1995, Taf. 48/142.

very similar pattern on the upper side of the disc pommel with concentrically arranged semicircles pointed outwards and a simplistic pattern on the lower side.⁵² Two swords from Kirchberg am Wagram (Tulln dDistrict, Lower Austria)⁵³ and Greiner Strudel (Perg District, Upper Austria)⁵⁴ present comparable ornamentation on the disc pommel. The first one has a similar design on its lower side made of two concentrically punched and one continuous line. Unfortunately, their find contexts are unsecure. Besides the sword from Bingula-Divoš other parallels could not be identified which have radially arranged punched lines on the upper side of the disc pommel.

The differentiation between early (HaA1) and late (HaA2) forms⁵⁵ is hardly sustainable, as it is unlikely that small typological features, such as the shape of the pommel knob and outline of the blade can point towards technological change.⁵⁶ In east-central Europe such a distinction is not valid either, since a great number of swords found in this particular area show a combination of those attributes, which are considered as indicative from a chronological point of view in western central Europe.⁵⁷ Furthermore, different sword types with assumed divergent formal and stylistic elements were buried within the same hoard.⁵⁸ Even with known archaeological contexts the chronological value of the isolated finds is much lower. In this particular case as a discovery without any information concerning its find circumstances,

the dating of the sword can be undertaken on typological grounds, but only on a very general scale and questionable manner. Former assessments have to be taken into consideration, thus a rough HaA dating seems presumable.⁵⁹ Apart from the meticulous formal characteristics the element of display seems to have gained in significance, both on regular and ceremonial swords,⁶⁰ thus the ornamentation becomes one of the basic distinguishing elements. It is important to note that the star motif first appears on cast bronze objects from the Middle Bronze Age in south-eastern and central Europe on dress pins, metal-hilted swords, and disc-butted axes. The star motif which consists of a circular arrangement of separate arcs, the ends of which are not conjoined is combined with rings-and-dots already on early swords. The Erlach type swords are the latest objects on which the star motif appears, on later swords the arcs developed into a continuous waveband.⁶¹

It is already an established fact that two identical full-hilted swords do not exist. Even though standard combinations of forms and ornaments cannot be observed and seems that every single sword was decorated individually, some show greater similarity and are likely to have been produced in the same workshop.⁶² While the widespread formal uniformity of the swords continued to prevail during Ha A, the ornamental attributes underwent a clear regionalization, which aimed to develop distinctive product

⁵² WÜSTEMANN 2004, Taf. 61/428.

⁵³ KRÄMER 1985, Taf. 11/62.

⁵⁴ KRÄMER 1985, Taf. 11/63.

⁵⁵ MÜLLER-KARPE 1961, 8–9, 24, 28–29, 31.

⁵⁶ STOCKHAMMER 2004, 61–66.

⁵⁷ STOCKHAMMER 2004, 62.

⁵⁸ See for example the hoards from Krasznokvajda (MOZSOLICS 1985, 139–140, Taf. 152–153), Zsujta (MOZSOLICS 1985, 217, Taf. 154A), Tuzsér (MOZSOLICS 1985, 206–207, Taf. 209/1–3), Nagyadém (KEMENCZEI 1991, 37/119–120, Taf. 28/119–120, 49/192, Taf. 43/192), Mátészalka (TARBAY 2018, 315–319, fig. 2), Bunești (PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1978, 148/251, Taf. 255A), Stoboru (KACSÓ 2014, 155, fig. 8), Ol'chovica (KOBAL 2000, 91/102, Taf. 76), Podgorjany I (KOBAL 2000, 93/112, Taf. 83), Negrovo II (KOBAL 2000, 89/93, Taf. 85) dated to HaA and HaB1. Regarding the distribution of swords within hoards, see: HANSEN 1994, 43–58.

⁵⁹ KRÄMER 1985, 26; KEMENCZEI 1991, 29–31; HANSEN 1994, 41–42; HARDING 1995, 75; QUILLFELDT 1995, 147–148; WÜSTEMANN 2004, 132; NOVOTNÁ 2014, 40–41; WINIKER 2015, 46.

⁶⁰ FONTIJN 2002, 172.

⁶¹ MÖDLINGER 2013, 68–70, fig. 3.

⁶² BUNNEFELD 2016b, 396.

features.⁶³ Arched lines pointed outwards, triple wavy lines on the upper side of the pommel disc, while concentrically punched lines, concentric lines sometimes alternating with concentric arches on the lower side of the pommel indicate a western metallurgical origin.⁶⁴ The manner in which the socket of the grip is executed or the fitting of the hilt and blade is carried out shows varying geographical and typological attributes, expressing different workshop styles and implicitly metallurgical traditions.⁶⁵ Minor typological differences may represent regionally relevant traditions and they could spatially and chronologically cut across the boundaries of typological groupings.⁶⁶ The newly discovered weapon can be seen as a distinct form of the Erlach type swords, being correlated through the general design of its adornment as well as

through the clear absence of eastern Carpathian decorative motifs.⁶⁷ Despite the fact the archaeological context of the artifact is unknown it can still be interpreted as a probable local imitation, modelled according to a supra-regional style, but without the fine and distinctive Erlach ornamentation elements. Looking at its closest analogy, namely the hilt from Corni (Suceava County, Romania), the eastern Carpathian presence of both swords can be seen as an isolated but not a unique appearance. As the eastern-most representatives of this type their oversimplified adornment is not surprising. Taking into consideration their almost identical ornamentation and remote presence in relation to the Erlach type one can ask whether they were the products of the same smith or not?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has already been suggested that swords could have served many purposes other than killing or injuring weapons. They were, perhaps above all, weapons of prestige and as such would have played a role within the appearance of the warrior class or stratum of society,⁶⁸ or could have been employed on a wide spectrum of other religious and social activities.⁶⁹ Often the richly decorated appearance indicates a higher value or an alternative assessment, reflecting the need or preference of the manufacturer or the customer. To what extent can this sword be individualized and assumed with a specific biography is difficult to evaluate,⁷⁰ taking into consideration that individuals could have chosen swords which were produced without their direct input.⁷¹

Assessing all this several essential questions

arise: why such an elaborate decoration for an artefact with evident casting deficiencies? Why the lack of use-marks when it is worked? Being aware of the missing context, still one needs to ask for how long could this artefact have been 'used' before it was removed from the circulation? Damage was part of the procedure for ending the life of specific bronze items. Still, deterioration traces that would more likely indicate a ritual-related nature, such as twisting or intensive, deep, large notches are not visible on the blade, nor was it broken down for recycling. Therefore, the purpose of this item most probably needs to be looked for within its lifespan and not during its disposal. As mentioned earlier signs of use-wear cannot be noticed, which can point towards a possible context of functional

⁶³ STOCKHAMMER 2004, 107–118, Abb. 16–18, Karte 64 and 65; KRISTIANSEN–SUCHOWSKA-DUCKE 2015, 378.

⁶⁴ STOCKHAMMER 2004, 107, 109, Abb. 19.

⁶⁵ SICHERL 2014, 110–113, Tabelle 1.

⁶⁶ MOLLOY 2018, 87.

⁶⁷ STOCKHAMMER 2004, 115–117.

⁶⁸ FONTIJN 2002, 226–228; FONTIJN 2005, 147; ČIVILYTĖ 2009, 155; COLQUHOUN 2011, 56–57; DANI ET AL. 2013, 44; KRISTIANSEN–SUCHOWSKA-DUCKE 2015, 371–372.

⁶⁹ SOROCEANU 2011; VANDKILDE 2015, 609–611.

⁷⁰ KRISTIANSEN 2002.

⁷¹ MOLLOY 2017, 18–19.

use: combat, worn at the waist, held in the hand etc. Apparently being an unused item it can hint towards a symbolic or social function, namely a marker of status or a mere ritual object,⁷² or perhaps it did not have a practical use at all.⁷³ Nonetheless, it can point towards a finished but refused weapon as well. However, independently from its context (isolated, hoard or settlement find, grave furnishing) the sword most likely had a short and passive life. A similar item was found in the hoard from Ría de Huelva (south-western Spain). The sword fragment had all the visual signs of a really bad quality casting (irregularities and cavities covering the entire surface, piercing in some places, even on the blade), still a lot of work and care was involved in making it as functional as possible. The user perhaps knew the limits of the material and the usage of the sword was adapted

accordingly.⁷⁴ Another good example is a used, solid-hilted sword from Kuhbier (Brandenburg Region, Germany) which despite clear casting faults, being covered by hundreds of porosities, was worked and repaired in a very particular way.⁷⁵

The paper attempted to present a short stage from the life-cycle of a weapon. Due to its unknown archaeological context a longer biography cannot be reconstructed.⁷⁶ Based on technological observations it can be stated that the sword had a special biography, expressed through a short lifetime and presumably a particular function. It was a good looking but low-quality sword: despite visible casting faults it received proper attention after casting. These later were all neglected for the purpose of a specific function and then discarded without any visible evidence of use-marks.

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⁷² BUNNEFELD 2012; BUNNEFELD 2015, 39; HORN 2017, 529.

⁷³ FONTIJN 2002, 30.

⁷⁴ GENER 2011, 121–122, fig. 2.

⁷⁵ BORN-HANSEN 1991, 148–150, Abb. 3a.

⁷⁶ GOSDEN-MARSHALL 1999; KOPYTOFF 2000; FONTIJN 2002, 26–30; MOLLOY 2011, 68–73; HARDING 2016.

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF IRON AGE CREMATION BURIALS FROM TRANSYLVANIA¹

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The bio-archaeological analysis of cremated bones is an interesting scientific challenge. The study is based on Scythian and Celtic cemeteries from Transylvania. In all cases significant parts of the skeleton are missing, especially at children (over 90% of the remains). During the research the analysis focused on the weight, fragmentation caused by the burning procedure, post mortem mutation and colour of the human remains. The morphologic investigation brought information about demography (gender distribution, child mortality, etc.), funerary practices and pathological changes in the Iron Age communities.

Keywords: cremation burials, Scythians, Celts, Transylvania, Iron Age

Cuvinte cheie: morminte de incinerare, sciți, celti, Transilvania, epoca fierului

This paper presents the results of the study on human bone remains collected from several archaeological sites, seeking to find data about gender distribution, lifestyle, diet and pathology of the Iron Age communities in Transylvania. From the methodological point of view, the osteological analysis of cremated human remains is a complex procedure, since in many cases the samples are poorly preserved and the anthropological representation is heterogeneous. The examination of these bones requires different techniques in comparison with the morpho-taxonomic methodology of the inhumation graves.

The study focuses on several burials unearthed in sites dated to the Transylvanian Late Hallstatt (Scythian) and Early and Middle La Tène horizons. Both horizons are characterized by the existence of bi-ritual cemeteries. For the Scythian horizon, cremated remains from the bi-ritual cemeteries in Mărișelu-Coasta Domneștilor (Bistrița-Năsăud County) and Sâncrai (Alba County) were examined.

The La Tène period is represented in this study by human remains from Fântânele-Dâmbul Popii, Fântânele-La Gâta / Dealul Iușului, Sălcuța-Coasta Oilor (all three cemeteries in Bistrița-Năsăud County) and Sâncrai (Alba County).

The cremated human bones are poorly preserved; still, in many cases, cranial fragments, roots of teeth and epiphysis ends could be found among the bones. The major issue in the morphological analysis is the small number of human remains. In order to obtain significant results regarding several aspects of the cremation process, the archaeological evidence – number, depth, orientation of the graves – or information about burial practices – funerary offerings, structure of graves, etc. – should be also taken into consideration. The archaeological background can reveal direct and indirect evidence for the stages of the cremation process: the preparation of the body, the construction of the pyre, the burning of the body, the sorting, selection and treatment of the ashes, the burial

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Mays 1998			Shipman et al. 1984	
° C		Colour	° C	Colour
Phase I	185° C	red, orange	under 285° C	white or yellow
Phase II	285° C	dark brown, black	285–525° C	red-brown, red-yellow, dark grey-brown or grey black, blue or red-yellow
Phase III	360° C	black	525–645° C	
Phase IV	440° C	grey-brown grey, brown (lighter than that observed at 440° C)	645–940° C	white, light grey or light blue-grey
Phase V	525° C			
Phase VI	625–1200° C	white, some pale yellow	940° C	white, some grey or red-yellow

Table 1. Colours observed after heating fresh goat bone.²

of the cremated remains and the above-ground arrangement of the grave, etc.³

The relevance of the anthropological analysis is also influenced by the accuracy of the field survey. It is well known, for example, that for several prehistoric communities the placing of the skull alone in the grave is documented. For such conclusions it is important to know if during the archaeological excavation the entire or only a part of the bones were recovered. Both anthropological and archaeological field researches should involve new methods, for example, it is recommended to apply CT scan before opening a funerary urn.⁴ Also, it is useful to use a bolter to verify minutely the excavated soil, especially in the case of simple piles of cremated bones without urns.⁵

The present study focuses on sex and age determination,⁶ the health and nutrition data of the community, together with the pathological cases⁷ and dental analysis.⁸ Both during the late phase of the Early Iron Age and the La Tène period the osteological remains were collected from an open-air pyre; where the human

skeletons burnt very fast. In the morphological analysis of cremated bones the study of the combustion was the first to be approached (Tab. 1).⁹ The burning process study was followed by measuring the human bone's weight (Tab. 2)¹⁰ after which the classification of the bone samples based on their colour¹¹ was carried out. The bones are not destroyed by firing, but their structure and composition will change. During combustion, the moistness drastically decreases and the organic component (chiefly collagen) is burned, leaving only the mineral composition.¹² The fragmentation and distortion suffered by the bone during cremation are probably due to rapid water loss. In low cremation temperature environment linear grooves appear on the surface of the bones, while at high temperatures the fractures on the bone become U-shaped.¹³ The shrinkage may be associated with the structural changes which affect the bone's mineral composition (Hydroxyapatite). The cremated bones from archaeological discoveries have a fairly high mechanical resistance and are not so much affected by decomposition in the soil.

² SHIPMAN ET AL. 1984; MAYS 1998.

³ MCKINLEY 1994.

⁴ PAJA ET AL. 2014.

⁵ WILLIAMS 2015, 262.

⁶ ÉRY ET AL. 1963; DOKLÁDAL 1970; MEINDL–LOVEJOY 1985; MASSET 1989; KEY ET AL. 1994.

⁷ ORTNER 2003.

⁸ LOVEJOY 1985; SIMPSON ET AL. 1990a; 1990b.

⁹ SHIPMAN ET AL. 1984.

¹⁰ TROTTER–HIXON 1974. In the paper only in a half part of the graves the weight of bones could be evaluated.

¹¹ SHIPMAN ET AL. 1984; MAYS 1998.

¹² MAYS 1998.

¹³ PAJA ET AL. 2014.

Age groups	Average weight of bones (gram)	
0–6 months	54	
6 months–3 years	185	
3–13 years	661	
13–25 years	2191	
Adult	Male	Female
	1919	1550
	(1530–3600)	(952–2278)

Table 2. Weight of the human skeleton.¹⁴

LATE HALLSTATT (SCYTHIAN) PERIOD

1. Mărișelu–Coasta Domneștilor

The site from Mărișelu–Coasta Domneștilor is a partially excavated bi-ritual cemetery. During a field survey G. Marinescu discovered eight graves.¹⁶ Osteological analysis could be carried out on one incineration and six inhumation graves. The human remains from the cremated burial are poorly preserved, 95% of the skeleton is missing; the bones belong to an adult person. Sex and more precise age determination was not possible, the stature could not be calculated, pathological or epigenetic traits could not be observed.

2. Fântânele – Dealul Iușului / La Gâța

The cemetery from Fântânele–Dealul Iușului/ La Gâța was discovered in a sand quarry east of the village. Starting from 1999 systematic excavations took place; so far 60 graves were identified.¹⁷ From the Scythian horizon two incineration graves were examined: grave no. 45 and 47 (Table 3).

Grave no.	Sex	Age
45	male	> 30 years, Adult
47	?	Adult

Table 3. Scythian cremation graves at Fântânele–Dealul Iușului/ La Gâța.

The demographic study¹⁵ of the communities is not feasible. The anthropological representation is reduced and in several cases most part of the human remains are missing.

For a comprehensive examination of cremation burials all cemeteries were analysed according to their chronological and regional background and also the funerary rite.

3. Sâncrai

Lying along the Sebeș–Turda railway, so far only a part of the cemetery in Sâncrai was examined, since a significant part of the necropolis extends east and west from the highway. The Scythian necropolis consisted of 93 archaeological features: 77 inhumation graves, 2 double burials, 6 incineration graves, 7 pits without human osteological remains (cenotaph?) and 1 pit with an inhumation horse grave.¹⁸

The bi-ritual cemetery has two chronological horizons, one from the end of the Early Iron Age and one from the LT C2 period, both periods with inhumation as well as incineration graves. Most of the burials belonged to the Scythian horizon, when inhumation was predominant. During the anthropological analysis seven incineration graves (Tab. 4) were identified. All of the remains belonged to adult individuals.

Grave no.	Sex	Age
M97	?	Adult
M114	F	20–30 years, Adult
M107	?	Adult
M78	?	Possible Adult
M93	F?	Adult
M106	F?	Adult
M90	?	Adult

Table 4. Scythian cremation graves at Sâncrai.

¹⁴ TROTTER–HIXON 1974.

¹⁵ BERNERT 2005; 2008; GÁL 2016.

¹⁶ MARINESCU 1984, 56–57.

¹⁷ BERECKI 2015, 125, with further bibliography.

¹⁸ <http://ran.cimec.ro/sel.asp?descript=sancrai-municipiul-aiud-alba-situl-arheologic-de-la-sancrai-sit-arheologic-nr.-9-km-38+470--38+870-de-pe-tronsonul-autostrazii-sebes-turda-lot-2-cod-sit-ran-1311.02>

EARLY AND MIDDLE LA TÈNE PERIOD

1. Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii, LT B–C cemetery

The necropolis located in the upper valley of the Meleş creek, on the territory of the village was investigated through several archaeological campaigns, between 1961 and 1974.¹⁹ With its 94 graves the site is one of the largest Celtic cemeteries known in Transylvania. Osteological analyses could be carried out in the case of 57 graves out of which 5 were inhumation and 52 were cremation burials (see Fig. 1 and Tab. 5). Although the cremated bones were relatively poorly preserved, in several cases epiphysis ends, dental roots, skull fragments with suture section etc. could be examined. Generally, in the case of the cremation graves the major challenge of the morphological examination was the sex

determination and age estimation. The gender distribution is not balanced (9 females and 6 males), infant mortality is high, 17 individuals died before the age of 14. It should be noted that for a significant part of the graves (over 30 cases) the sex determination based on osteological analyses was not possible; in these cases only information regarding their ages could be obtained. Two double burial were also identified: graves no. 42/42A (a female and a child) and graves no. 69/69A (a male and a female). Because of the poor preservation or owing to the incompleteness of the skeletons in the case of the cremated bones only periodontal diseases (caries and dental plaque) could be identified.²⁰ There is no data to help determine the stature

Grave no.	Sex	Age
1	female	> 20 years, Adult
4	?	3–7 years, Infans I
6	female	Adult
7	?	> 25 years, Adult
8	?	> 20 years, Adult
10	male	> 30 years, Adult
11	?	7–14 years, Infans II
13	?	Infans I
14	?	Adult
15	?	-
16	?	-
17	male	Adult
18	?	Adult
19	?	-
20	?	Adult
21	male	Adult
22	?	Iuvenis
23	?	Adult
26	?	Adult
34	?	Infans I
35	female	> 25 years, Adult
36	?	Infans I
39	?	Infans I
40	?	Adult
42	female (?)	25–40 years, Adult
42A	?	7–9 years, Infans II
43	?	Adult

Grave no.	Sex	Age
44	?	Adult
45	?	Adult
46	?	Infans I
48	female	> 25 years, Adult
49	female	Adult
50	?	Adult
51	female	Adult
54	?	5–7 years, Infans I
57	?	Infans I
58	male	23–30 years, Adult
59	?	Infans I
60	?	> 20 years, Adult
61	?	25–40 years, Adult
64	?	Infans I
65	?	14–17 years, Iuvenis
69	male	> 25 years, Adult
69A	female	14–19 years, Iuvenis
71	?	7–14 years, Infans II
72	?	Infans I
73	-	-
80	male	> 25 years, Adult
81	female	> 25 years, Adult
83	?	> 30 years, Adult
84	?	-

Table 5. Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii. Anthropological data of Late Iron Age cremation graves.

¹⁹ BERECKI 2015, 119, with further bibliography.
²⁰ ORTNER 2003, 590–593.

of the buried persons and no pathological or epigenetic traits could be observed. The presence of periodontal diseases and dental calculus suggest malnutrition of the community.²¹

2. Sălcuța–Coasta Oilor, LT B–C cemetery

After several incidental discoveries in 2014, the bi-ritual cemetery was first researched in 2016, when eight graves from the Celtic period were identified.²² Six of the eight graves were cremations out of which five could be anthropologically examined. In grave 3 and 7 there were adult individuals, while grave 8, 9 and 10 belonged to children (*Infans* I). None of the cremated graves yielded relevant data for sex determination.

3. Fântânele–Dealul Iușului / La Gâța, LT B–C cemetery

The necropolis from the Celtic horizon is a bi-ritual cemetery.²³ A number of nine inhumation and 18 incineration graves could be anthropologically analysed. The state of preservation of the osteological material from the cremation graves is rather poor, and in several cases 90% of the skeleton is missing. Two double graves were documented: grave no. 27/27A and grave no. 46/46A. All examined adult individuals died over the age of 30 (Fig. 2). Sex determination was possible only for two male graves. Pathological cases could not be observed.

4. Sâncrai, LT C2 cemetery

The number of the graves belonging to the La Tène horizon from Sâncrai (Tab. 7) is considerably smaller than the Scythian ones: only one bi-ritual double grave (grave no. 1/1A, an adult and a child) and 3 other single graves (two adults and one *Infans* II) were found. Because of the poor condition of preservation of the

human remains, no observation regarding sex determination or pathology could be made.

Grave no.	Sex	Age
3	male?	Adult
20	?	Adult
56	?	Adult
59	?	14–17 years, Iuvenis
19	?	Iuvenis
16	?	12–15 years, Infans II
29	?	Adult
48	-	-
21	?	> 25 years, Adult
52	?	Infans I
24	?	Infans I
17	?	4–6 years, Infans I
25	?	2–4 years, Infans I
26	-	-
27	?	-
27A	Male?	Adult
46	Male	Adult
46A	?	-

Table 6. Fântânele–Dealul Iușului / La Gâța. Anthropological data of the cremated Late Iron Age graves.

Grave no.	Sex	Age
1 (incineration grave)	?	Adultus
1A (inhuma- tion grave)	?	0–6 months, Infans I
3	?	Adultus
5	male	23–39 years, Adultus
31	female	7–14 years, Infans II

Table 7. Sâncrai. Anthropological data of the Late Iron Age cremated graves.

The morphological analysis of the human remains contributed to the recovery of several information regarding the paleodemography of

Scythian and Celtic communities. In the Scythian horizon, the gender distribution is balanced in all cemeteries and the infant mortality is low;

²¹ LOVEJOY 1985; SIMPSON ET AL. 1990a; 1990b.

²² VAIDA 2017, 237–238.

²³ BERECKI–VAIDA 2017, 14.

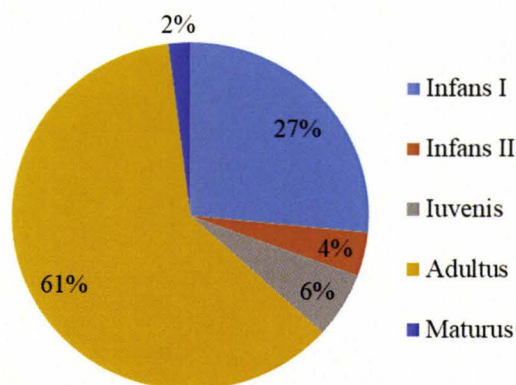


Fig. 1. Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii. Age distribution of Celtic graves (inhumation and cremation burials).

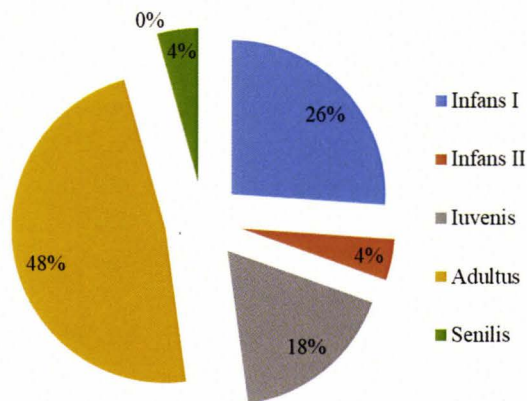


Fig. 2. Fântânele–Dealul Iușului / La Gâța. Age distribution of the examined cremation graves.

in small burial grounds no children graves could be observed, while at Sâncrai and Fântânele–La Gâța / Dealul Iușului they were documented only in a few cases. However, in the case of the Fântânele–La Gâța / Dealul Iușului cemetery it should also be taken into consideration that the cemetery is not entirely researched. Most of the females died between 25 and 35 years (probably birth complications or chronic diseases), while the males between 25 and 50 years. Senile, old persons of both sexes were identified.

The bio-archaeological analysis of the cremated bones is the sensitive part of the entire research (study of inhumation and cremation burials from Transylvania in the Iron Age). In all cases, especially from children graves, a significant part of the cremated skeleton is missing (over 90% of the human remains). In children graves, in most cases, only the skull was recovered from the pit (cranial vault and a few fragments from the facial bones), therefore it is possible that only a part of the skeleton was collected from the pyre. As such, in many situations, the weight of the human remains is not relevant.

The brown, black, yellow colour and in many cases the straight furrows on the bones show a lower firing temperature (520–650 °C), while the white, white-grey and white-blue colour and fractured bones in U-shape indicate higher

temperatures (Fig. 1). Often, the cremated human bones were collected together with carbon. Both in the Early and Late Iron Age horizons the greatest part of the cremated skeletons are missing.

In the Celtic horizon the child mortality is higher, especially at Fântânele–Dâmbul Popii cemetery, where some of the inhumation graves also belonged to children. The gender distribution is generally balanced, with a little higher percentage of females in Fântânele–Dâmbul Popii. Double graves could be observed in several cemeteries from the Celtic horizon: Sâncrai, Fântânele–Dâmbul Popii and Fântânele–La Gâța / Dealul Iușului.²⁴ The only paleo-pathological cases which could be identified on the examined cremated bones were the periodontal diseases (caries, dental plaque)²⁵.

In conclusion it can be stated that in both horizons the communities had nutrition deficiency starting from childhood and several periodontal diseases could be observed in Late Hallstatt and Early and Middle La Tène cemeteries too. For future research, more accurate processing of the osteological material (CT analysis, etc) could be very useful and also a meticulous collection of human remains during archaeological excavations is highly recommended to get as much data as possible from this type of archaeological discoveries.

²⁴ For the discussion regarding double burials in the Carpathian Basin see: BERECKI–VAIDA 2017.

²⁵ ORTNER 2003, 590–593.



Fig. 3. Fântânele–Dâmbu Popii, grave no. 44. Cremated human bones.

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DIE ALTÄGYPTISCHEN ARTEFAKTE DES KREISMUSEUMS MUREȘ, RUMÄNIEN

Cristian CRĂCIUN*

The ancient Egyptian collection of the Mureș County Museum consists of five objects, all of them having belonged to the former Collection of Count Domokos Teleki from Gornești (HU: Gernyeszeg), Mureș County. The two wooden coffin fragments and the ushabti head fragment have a sepulchral character; the two sandstone relief fragments could have belonged to a tomb but also to a temple building. This article shall briefly present the artefacts and categorize them.

Schlüsselwörter: Sargtexte, kursive Hieroglyphen, *Uschebti*, Relief, Grab

Keywords: Coffin texts, cursive hieroglyphs, *ushabti*, relief, tomb

Cuvinte cheie: Textele sarcofagelor, hieroglific cursive, *ushabti*, basorelief, mormânt

Die Absicht des Autors ist es, einen Katalog aller altägyptischen Altertümer Rumäniens zu erstellen. Dafür müssen alle Museen und Sammlungen, die Aegyptiaca besitzen, kontaktiert und die Objekte aufgenommen und untersucht werden. Da die Sammlungen aufgrund vieler Faktoren nicht immer leicht zu erforschen sind, ist für das Projekt eine längere Bearbeitungszeit anzunehmen.¹ Anhand des Ausstellungskatalogs von 1988² war es mir möglich, zwei altägyptische Artefakte und deren Inventarnummern in den Sammlungen des Kreismuseum Mureș zu identifizieren. Drei weitere Objekte konnten nach einer gründlicheren Suche im Museum ausfindig gemacht werden. Alle stammen aus der ehemaligen Privatsammlung des Grafen Domokos Teleki von Gornești (HU: Gernyeszeg) in Kreis Mureș.³ Die genaue Herkunft der

altägyptischen Altertümer der Teleki-Sammlung kann nicht mehr festgestellt werden. Sie wurden, wie es damals üblich war, im Kunsthandel erworben und sind als echt einzustufen.

Die Aegyptiaca-Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș besteht aus zwei hölzernen Sarkophagresten (Kat. 1–2), einem Kopffragment einer *Uschebti*-Statuette aus Keramik (Kat. 3) und zwei Relieffragmenten aus Sandstein (Kat. 4–5).

Das erste Sargfragment (Kat. 1) ist mit einem unvollständigen Text in Kursivschrift versehen, der Inhalt des Textes gehört der Sammlung der Sargtexte an.⁴ Das zweite Fragment (Kat. 2) stammt von einem Holzsarg.

Uschebti-Statuetten (Kat. 3) wurden als Grabbeigaben seit dem Mittleren Reich genutzt und der Bestattung beigegeben. Sie sollten dem Toten bei der im Jenseits von ihm geforderten

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¹ Hiermit möchte ich dem Kreismuseum Mureș, vor allem Herrn Szilamér-Péter Pánczél, für die freundliche Unterstützung meines Vorhabens danken.

² GLODARIU ET AL. 1988.

³ Mehr zu der Sammlung siehe: PAULOVICS 1944, 86–96; FÁBIÁN 2016; 2017; 2018.

⁴ „Als Sargtexte wird die zeitgenössische religiöse Literatur bezeichnet, die in der 1. Zwischenzeit und im Mittleren Reich namentlich auf Särgen in Auswahl aufgezeichnet wurde. Und zwar auf Wänden, Boden und Deckel, aber auch auf Papyri, Grabwänden, Masken, Kanopenkästen, Goldblättern, Statuen und Stelen.“ (HELCK–WESTENDORF 1984, 468)

Arbeitslast, besonders bei der Feldarbeit, Hilfe leisten.⁵

Die Sandsteinfragmente (Kat. 4–5) gehörten sicherlich einem größeren Architekturzusammenhang an. Es könnte sich entweder um Tempel- oder Grabbauten handeln.

Aufgrund der fehlenden Information über die Herkunft der Objekte können keine

weitgehenden Schlüsse gezogen werden. Das erfreuliche ist, dass diese Objekte trotz der Wirren der Zeit, vor allem in den letzten 100 Jahren, überlebt haben. Sie weisen darauf hin, dass es auch in diesem östlichen Teil Siebenbürgens kultivierte Sammler gab, die Interesse für den Alten Orient hegten.

KATALOG

1. Hölzernes **Sargfragment** (Tafel 1/1)

Inv. Nr. 1786, Archäologische Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș.

Maße: 54 × 16 × 3,2 cm.

Beschreibung: Das hölzerne Sargfragment wurde mit kursiven Hieroglyphen⁶ beschriftet. Es weist auf einem gelblichen Untergrund ca. 20 senkrechte Schriftkolumnen auf, die im unteren Teil abgebrochen und daher unvollständig sind. Die Inschrift ist mit schwarzer und teilweise mit roter Tinte ausgeführt, die Kolumnengrenzungen sind schwarz. Es handelt sich um Sprüche aus den sog. Sargtexten.⁷ Aufgrund der oberen Schlusslinie der Kolumnen liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass dieses Fragment zum oberen Bereich der Innenseite eines Sarges gehören könnte.

Literatur: GLODARIU ET AL. 1988, 25, Nr. 96.

2. Hölzernes **Sargfragment** (Tafel 1/2)

Inv. Nr. 1787, Archäologische Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș.

Maße: 21,6 × 12,3 × 3 cm.

Beschreibung: Dieses Fragment weist auf einem gelben Untergrund kleine in schwarzer Farbe gehaltene kursive Hieroglyphen sowie größere Zeichen oder Bilder auf. Die fünf großen Zeichen haben eine schwarze Kontur und wurden mit roter, teils auch gelber Farbe ausgefüllt. Die kleineren Kursivzeichen sind

zwischen oder oberhalb der großen gemalt worden. Ob das Fragment zum Inneren oder zum Äußeren des ehemaligen Sarges gehörte, kann nicht ermittelt werden.

Literatur: GLODARIU ET AL. 1988, 25, Nr. 97.

3. Fragment einer **Uschebti-Statuette** (Tafel 1/3)

Inv. Nr. 1788, Archäologische Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș.

Maße: 4,4 × 3,2 × 2,6 cm.

Beschreibung: Das Statuettenfragment gehörte zu einer mumienförmigen Gestalt, die als *Uschebti*⁸ bezeichnet wird. Das erhaltene Kopfteil ist aus Keramik hergestellt und mit roter Engobe überzogen.

4. **Relieffragment** aus Sandstein (Tafel 1/4)

Inv. Nr. 1789, Archäologische Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș.

Maße: 29,5 × 19 × 9,2 cm.

Beschreibung: Das Sandsteinfragment mit erhabenem Relief wurde mit roter, gelber und blauer Farbe bemalt. In der Mitte kann man den herabhängenden Unterarm einer menschlichen Gestalt erkennen, deren Hand ein *Ankh*-Zeichen hält, das Zeichen für Leben. Unklar ist, was der rot gemalte senkrechte Streifen rechts des Armes darstellen soll. Die Kontur einer nach rechts gewandten Figur ist am rechten Rand des

⁵ HELCK-WESTENDORF 1986, 896–899.

⁶ Diese Schreibart ist zwischen hieroglyphischer und hieratischer Schrift einzuordnen. Sie wurde im Funärbereich von Beschriftung der Särge bis zu der Erstellung von Totenbuchpapyri verwendet.

⁷ HELCK-WESTENDORF 1984, 468–471; DE BUCK 1935–1961.

⁸ HELCK ET AL. 1986, 896–899.

Fragments erkennbar. Eine blaue senkrechte Linie links des Armes könnte entweder der Stab einer nachfolgenden Figur sein, den diese vor sich in der Hand hielt, oder aber die Szenengrenzung. Es handelt sich bei diesem Fragment um einen kleinen Rest einer Kultszene in einem Tempel⁹ oder einer Szene in einem Grab.¹⁰ Am häufigsten sind die Götter derart gestaltet.

5. Relieffragment aus Sandstein (Tafel 1/5)
Inv. Nr. 1790, Archäologische Sammlung des

Kreismuseums Mureș.

Maße: 17,9 × 16,7 × 4,6 cm.

Beschreibung: Dieses Sandsteinfragment weist keine Bemalung auf. Es können zwei Hieroglyphenzeichen in erhabenem Relief erkannt werden, links ein *H.* und rechts ein *s.* Sie befinden sich unterhalb eines waagerechten Zeichens bzw. eventuell einer Umrahmung, die auch schwach am rechten Rand des Fragments erkennbar ist. Die Oberfläche des Steins ist zum Teil abgerieben.

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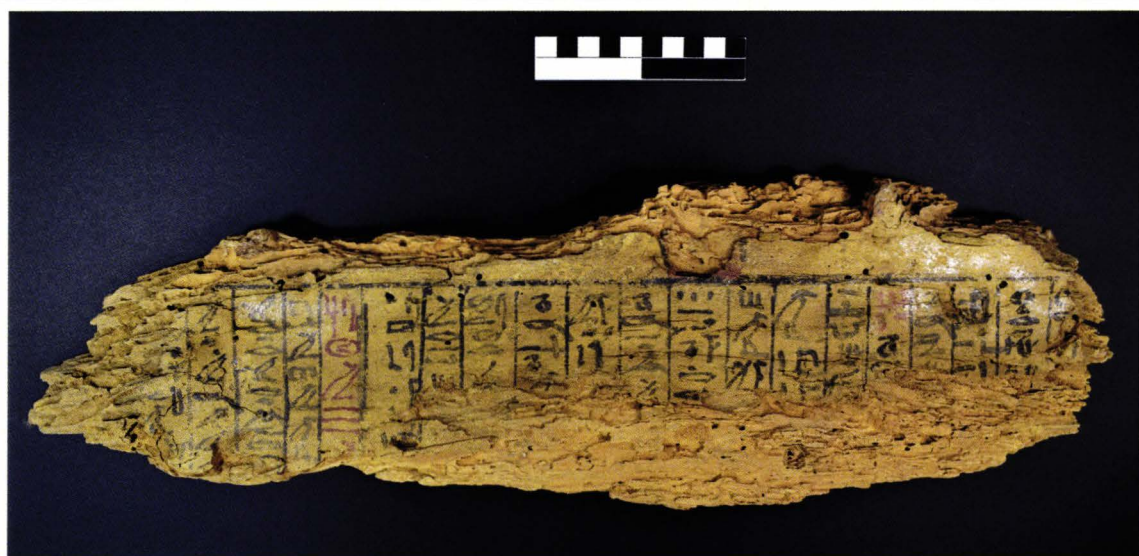
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⁹ Reliefs mit Szenen des Tempelkults sind zahlreich in allen Tempeln anzutreffen. Der Pharao in der Gestalt des Priesters vollzieht verschiedenartigste Rituale im Beisein der Götter. Siehe beispielsweise: NELSON 1936, Pl. 12–15.

¹⁰ Siehe: HORNUNG ET AL. 1991, 210–211, 236–237.



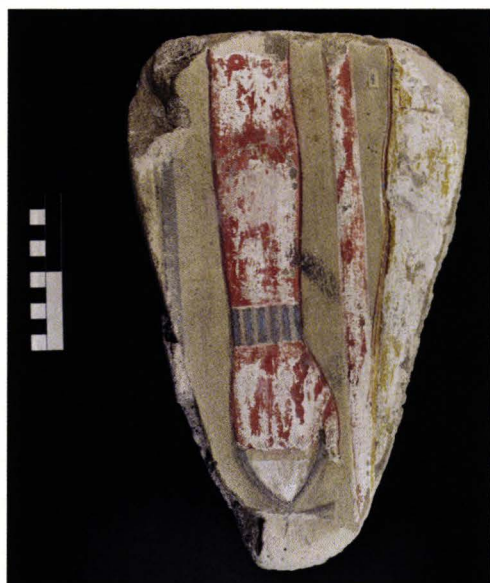
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Tafel 1. Funde aus der Sammlung des Kreismuseums Mureș (Fotografiert von Sz. P. Pánczél)

AUSGRABUNGEN IM VICUS VON CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA, KREIS MUREȘ (RUMÄNIEN)

Constanze HÖPKEN*
Manuel FIEDLER**
Karl OBERHOFER***

In the vicus of Călugăreni / Mikháza, a Roman military site on the Eastern Limes of Dacia, excavations are taking place since 2011. Wooden building structures could be identified by postholes and beams beds. Between the buildings, adjacent areas and paths were gravelled. Several pottery and forging slag fragments point towards the processing of clay and metal within the settlement, and recently the probable location of a Roman forge could be recorded, due to forging slag and technical ceramics.

Schlüsselwörter: Călugăreni / Mikháza, Römischer vicus, Schmiede, technische Keramik, Schmiedeschlacke

Keywords: Călugăreni / Mikháza, Roman vicus, forge, technical ceramics, forging slag

Cuvinte cheie: Călugăreni / Mikháza, vicus roman, forjă, ceramică tehnică, zgură de forjă

Nach der Eroberung des heutigen Siebenbürgen bzw. Transsilvaniens unter Trajan wurde das Gebiet grundlegend umgestaltet. Mit der Einrichtung der dakischen Provinzen, der umfangreichen Stationierung von Legionen und Auxiliareinheiten und der Gründung neuer ziviler Zentren kam es zu einem umfassenden Wandel der Siedlungsstruktur. Die wichtigsten Militärstandorte und urbanen Zentren – u.a. Sarmizegetusa, Apulum und Potaissa – lagen im Westen an Verkehrsknotenpunkten. Sie sicherten die Verkehrswege und den Zugriff auf Gold, Salz und weitere Bodenschätze. Das innere Dakiens war rundum von den Bergzügen der Karpaten umgeben; im Osten reichte das römische Gebiet bis an den Karpatenbogen, obwohl hier im Gegensatz zu den westlichen Gebieten im Vorfeld der Berge keine dichte

Besiedlung bestand. Dieser schwer zu überwindende Gebirgszug bildete aber einen natürlichen Riegel und hatte damit die entscheidende Rolle im System der östlichen, von den Zentren Dakiens relativ weit entfernten Grenz- und Verteidigungslinie. Zwischen dieser östlichen Grenze und den westlichen Zentren gab es nur relativ wenige zivile Ansiedlungen, und eine mit anderen römischen Provinzen vergleichbare Streu-Besiedlung mit *villae rusticae* ist im römischen Dakien bislang kaum nachweisbar.

Westlich vor den Ostkarpaten bildeten Wachtürme und Auxiliarlager perlenschnurartig die Limeslinie. Während die Wachtürme strategisch bedeutende Punkte an den Karpatenpässen besetzten, lagen die Kastelle am westlichen Fuß des Gebirgszuges in den Tälern, die nach Westen in das Landesinnere führten. Insgesamt

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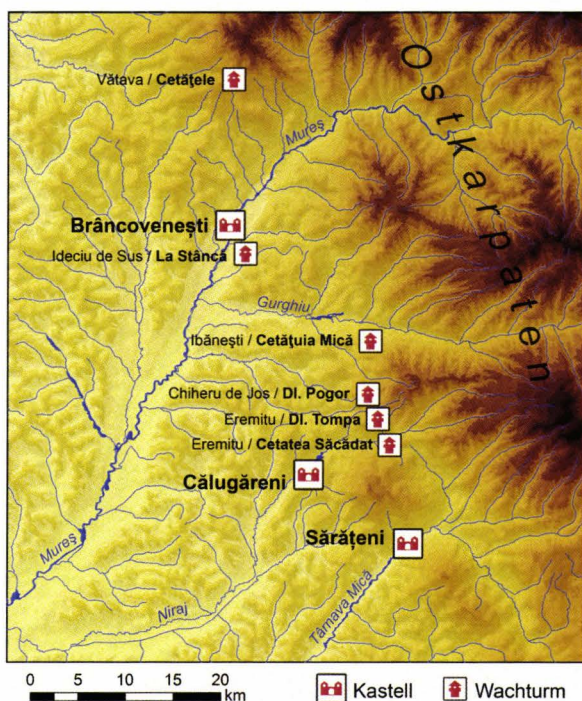


Abb. 1. Lager und Wachtürme im Kreis Mureș (M. Szabó).

umfasst der Teil des Dakischen Ostlimes, der im heutigen Kreis Mureș / Maros liegt¹, die Lager von Brâncovenesti / Marosvécs, Călugăreni / Mikháza und Sărățeni / Sôvárâd;² zudem konnten Wachturmstandorte in Vătăva / Felsőrépa, Idecu de Sus / Felsőidecs, Ibănești / Libánfalva, Chiheru de Jos / Felsőköhér und Eremitu / Nyárádremente identifiziert werden (Abb. 1).³ Zwischen den Lagern von Brâncovenesti und

Călugăreni liegt das Gurghiu / Görgény Flusstal, an dem ein weiteres, bislang nicht lokalisiertes Auxiliarlager existiert haben könnte, womit die Lager eine Kette mit regelmäßigen Abständen gebildet hätten.⁴

Von den bekannten Kastellen ist allein das Auxiliarlager von Călugăreni nicht modern überbaut. Es ist seit dem 18. Jahrhundert bekannt⁵ und lag auf einer flachen Terrasse am linken Ufer des Flusses Niraj / Nyárád westlich des gleichnamigen Passes. Dort kontrollierte das Kastell die Wege durch das von den Ostkarpaten Richtung Miereschthal verlaufende Flusstal. Die Besatzung könnte – abgeleitet von zahlreichen Ziegelstempeln – die in Syrien ausgehobene *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum* gewesen sein.⁶

Erste Grabungen im Lager fanden 1878 statt. Erst 1961 wurden sie kurzfristig wieder aufgenommen und setzten ab 2004 erneut wieder ein.⁷ 2008 folgten erste geophysikalische Untersuchungen, die sich zunächst auf das Lager konzentrierten⁸ und später auch das Umfeld des Kastells abdeckten. Siedlungsbereiche zeichneten sich im Westen, Süden und Osten um das Lager ab. Feldbegehungen, bei denen die Streuung römischer Funde dokumentiert wurde, legen nahe, dass der *vicus* eine Ausdehnung von über 10 ha gehabt haben könnte.⁹

Da im römischen Dakien die Strukturen römischer *vici* kaum bekannt sind und selten systematisch untersucht wurden, sollen mit den Grabungen im *vicus* von Călugăreni

¹ Da in diesem Gebiet Rumäniens ungarisch sprechende Bevölkerungsteile leben und die Forschung des vorletzten Jahrhunderts ausschließlich die ungarischen Namen angibt, die Fundstellen heute allerdings meist unter rumänischen Namen bekannt sind, werden hier beide angegeben.

² PAULOVICS 1944, 23–27, 32–43; LAZĂR 1995, 84–88, 122–124, 243–244; GUDEA 1997, 555–558; MARCU 2009, 118–120, 121–122; POPA ET AL. 2010, 106–110.

³ FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1982, 568–584; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1983; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1994; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1995; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2011, 178 f.; HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016.

⁴ Trotz intensiver Suche wurden allerdings bislang keine Hinweise auf ein Lager gefunden. Zur Problematik s. PAULOVICS 1944, 27–31; LAZĂR 1995, 142–143; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1982, 572–576; FERENCZI-PETICĂ 1994, 160–163; FARKAS ET AL. 2012.

⁵ ORBÁN 1868–1871, 88 f.; PAULOVICS 1944, 32–38; PROTASE 1965; LAZĂR 1995, 122–124; GUDEA 1997, 556 f.; MARCU 2009, 121–122; POPA ET AL. 2010, 107–110; PÁNCZÉL 2015; DOBOS ET AL. 2017; PÁNCZÉL 2018a–c; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018; SIDÓ-PÁNCZÉL 2019; PÁNCZÉL-LUKÁCSI 2019; PÁNCZÉL-SIDÓ 2019.

⁶ PISO-MARCU 2006–2007, 172–176; SIDÓ-ÖTVÖS 2015.

⁷ MAN ET AL. 2005; MAN 2006; MAN ET AL. 2011; MAN-CIOATĂ 2012; MAN ET AL. 2012; MAN ET AL. 2012; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2019.

⁸ POPA ET AL. 2010.

⁹ PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2014.



Abb. 2. Ausgrabungsareale in Călugăreni / Mikháza im Kastell (Area A), im Bad (Area B) und im *vicus* (Area C und ERC 2018) (Sz.-P. Pánczél und K. Oberhofer).

Anhaltspunkte zum generellen Aussehen des *vicus* und zu den Charakteristika der Gebäude gewonnen werden.

Näher untersucht wurden die *vicus*-Bereiche westlich und nördlich des Lagers, zum Teil unweit des Bades am Niraj. Die geophysikalischen Messungen waren hier wenig eindeutig, so dass die Siedlungsstruktur nur durch Grabungen weiter erschlossen werden kann.

Erste Ausgrabungen des Kreismuseum Mieresch setzten 2011 in einem Bereich der Siedlung ein, der in einer Entfernung von etwa 300 m westlich des Kastells lag. Funde von Model-Fragmenten zur Keramikproduktion und Eisenschlacken gaben erste Hinweise auf handwerkliche Tätigkeiten in diesem

Siedlungsareal.¹⁰ Seit 2013 (Abb. 2) steht der *vicus*-Bereich im direkten Umfeld des Lagers im Focus.¹¹ Dem Kastell am nächsten lag ein Schnitt, der 2018 untersucht werden konnte. Anlässlich der Verlegung von Versorgungsleitungen 2017 und 2018 wurden entlang der Dorfstraßen Gräben gezogen, in denen Befunde des *vicus* angeschnitten und in baubegleitenden Notgrabungen dokumentiert worden waren. Etwa 50 m von der Nordost-Ecke des Kastells entfernt zeigten sich Schichten und Gruben, die durch ungewöhnlich zahlreiche Keramikfragmente auffielen. Eine intensivere Untersuchung erschien deswegen lohnend. Bei der darauffolgenden, systematischen Grabung wurde hier eine größere Grube freigelegt, die

¹⁰ MAN-CIOATĂ 2012; MAN ET AL. 2011, 34–37; MAN ET AL. 2012, 36–38.

¹¹ Die Untersuchungen wurden als gemeinsame Lehrgrabung des Winckelmann-Instituts der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität zu Köln und der Babeș-Bolyai-Universität Cluj-Napoca unter der Koordination des Kreismuseum Mieresch durchgeführt. Wir danken Dietmar Buchmann von der Erasmusförderung der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin sowie Eckhard Deschler-Erb vom Lehrstuhl der Römischen Provinzen am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln. Dem Kreismuseum in Târgu Mureș sind wir für die gute Zusammenarbeit sehr dankbar.



Abb. 3. Grube im *vicus* vor der nordwestlichen Kastlecke, verfüllt mit recht einheitlicher Keramik (S. Braun).

mit relativ gleichartiger Keramik verfüllt war (Abb. 3). Das Fabrikat ist fein gemagert, eisenhaltig, oxidierend gebrannt und damit orangefarben. Einige der Gefäße waren auffallend weich. Unter den Bruchstücken von Krügen, Schüsseln und vor allem Bechern waren auch zwei keramische Schlangenfragmente, die wohl von einem kraterförmigen Gefäß – oder zweien – stammen dürften. Einen besonderen Fund stellten Fragmente einer Spardose der gleichen Warenart dar, die sich unweit dieser Grube in einer Schicht direkt unter der modernen Straße fanden (Abb. 4a). Die Scherben ließen sich weitgehend zusammensetzen und ergaben die äußerst ungewöhnliche Form einer Zweikammer-Spardose – mit einem Einwurfschlitz für kleine Münzen in die innere Kammer, und einem Einwurfschlitz für große Münzen für die äußere Kammer (Abb. 4b).¹² Die anfängliche Vermutung, dass hier ein kultischer Kontext

vorliegt, worauf Schlangentopffragmente, zahlreiche, großstückig zerbrochene Trinkgefäße und auch die Spardose hingewiesen hätten, ließ sich nicht untermauern.¹³ Eher wird es sich hier um die Hinterlassenschaften einer Töpferwerkstatt handeln.

Ein Areal von knapp 300 m² unweit des Bades, etwa 80 m vom Lager entfernt, konnte in den Jahren 2013 bis 2017 in bislang fünf direkt benachbart zueinander angelegten Schnitten (Schnitt C1–C5) erforscht werden (Abb. 5). Die geophysikalischen Messungen ließen keine Strukturen in Steinbauweise erwarten; es zeigten sich mehrere mit Kies befestigte Areale, bei denen es sich zum einen um Außenbereiche von Gebäuden, zum anderen um Verkehrswege handeln könnte. Überlagerungen von Kiesschichten zeigen eine mehrfache Reparatur oder Erneuerung der Flächen an. Zwei parallel verlaufende, 70 cm breite Setzungen

¹² SIDÓ–HÖPKEN 2020.

¹³ Vgl. HÖPKEN–FIEDLER 2015; HÖPKEN–FIEDLER 2017.

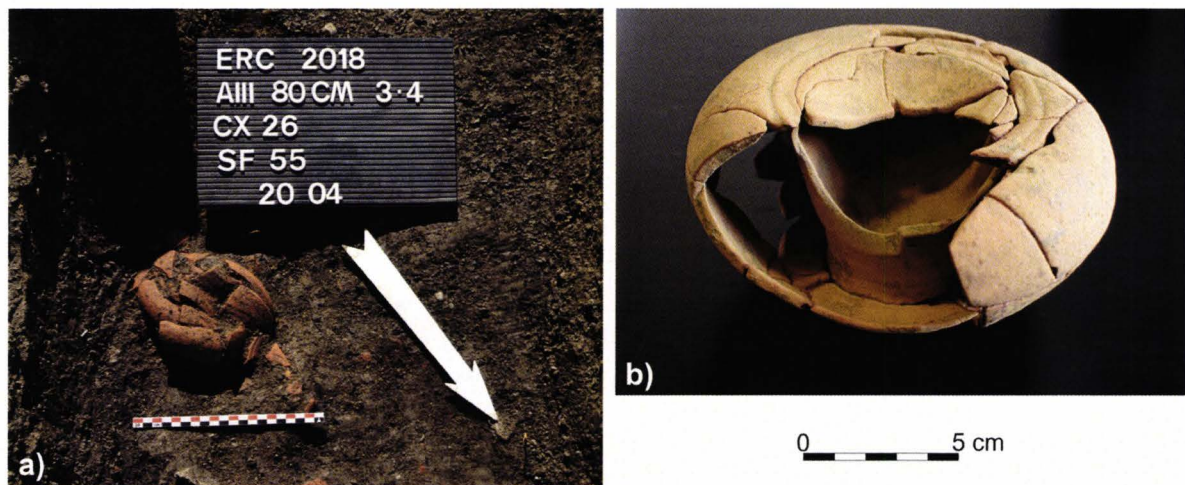


Abb. 4. Die Spardose in Fundlage (a) und restauriert (b) (D. Nyulas und K. Sidó).

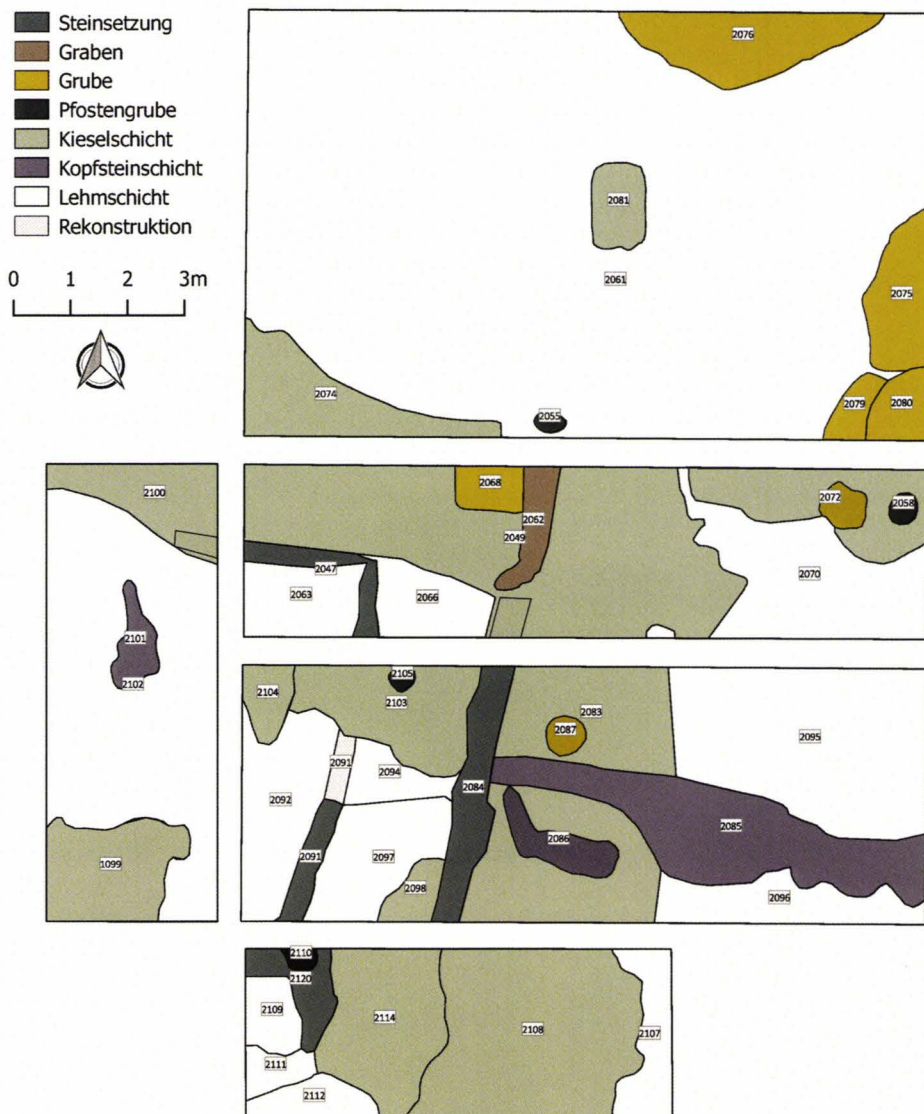


Abb. 5. Călugăreni, vicus, Plan der Grabungsschnitte C1 – C5 nordwestlich des Lagers, M. 1:100 (M.-H. Lindner).

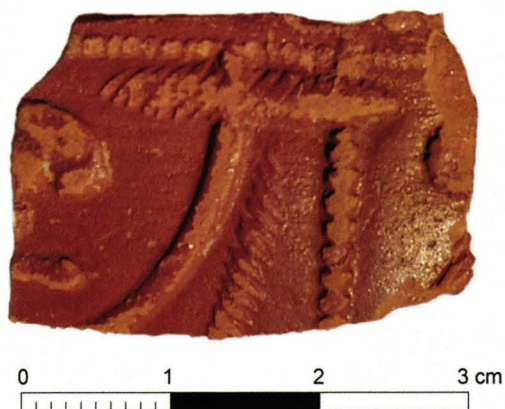


Abb. 6. *Terra Sigillata*-Fragment aus dem vicus von Călugăreni aus Cx 2095, M. 2:1 (C. Höpken).

von größeren Steinen, darunter auch Fragmente von Mühlsteinen, könnten zur Fundamentierung eines Gebäudes gehören (Abb. 5, Nr. 2084 und 2091). Sie laufen über einen Teil der flächigen Kiesschichten und zählen damit zu einer späteren Phase im vicus. Hier auf weist auch die Wiederverwertung von Steinmaterial wie Mühlsteinfragmenten hin. Unter den Funden deuten Buntmetall- und Eisenschlacken auf Metallhandwerker hin; die Keramik- und Knochenfunde entsprechen dem üblichen Fundniederschlag einer Siedlung. Eine regelrechte Abfallschicht mit Keramik, Knochen und Ziegelbruch lag jenseits des flankierenden Wegs im Westen der Schnitte (Abb. 5, Cx 2095/2096¹⁴). Unter den Knochen fallen – wie so oft – halbierte Unterkiefer und Schulterblätter auf: Sie gelten als charakteristische Nahrungsmittelreste von Rauchfleisch.¹⁵

Die Keramik umfasst vor allem ortsübliches, rau- und glattwandiges Haushaltsgeschirr. Tafelware bzw. feinere Keramik ist selten, obwohl auch diese in der Region hergestellt wurde und entsprechend auf dem Markt verfügbar war. Oft imitieren die Gefäße *Terra Sigillata*, da die Produkte der gallischen Manufakturen Dakien nicht regelhaft erreichten. Dennoch belegen einzelne Scherben, dass ostgallische Sigillaten auch an den dakischen Ostlimes gelangten; in

Călugăreni waren sie häufiger im militärischen und seltener im zivilen Kontext in Gebrauch (Abb. 6). Neben Informationen zum alltäglichen Leben geben die Funde auch Hinweise auf die Chronologie des Platzes: Nach Ausweis der Keramik wurde die Siedlung um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. verlassen.

In der Kampagne 2019 wurde unweit der nach Südwesten in das Nachbardorf Dămieni/Deményháza führenden Ausfallstraße im vicus die Fläche C6 mit einer Ausdehnung von 10 × 10 m untersucht (Abb. 7). Sie liegt etwa 20 m südlich der Schnitte C1-C5 und sollte weitere Einblicke in die Siedlungsstruktur ermöglichen. Bei den erwähnten Infrastrukturmaßnahmen entlang der heutigen Dorfstraßen konnte in der Vergangenheit festgestellt werden, dass archäologisch relevante Befunde in diesem Bereich gut erhalten sind.

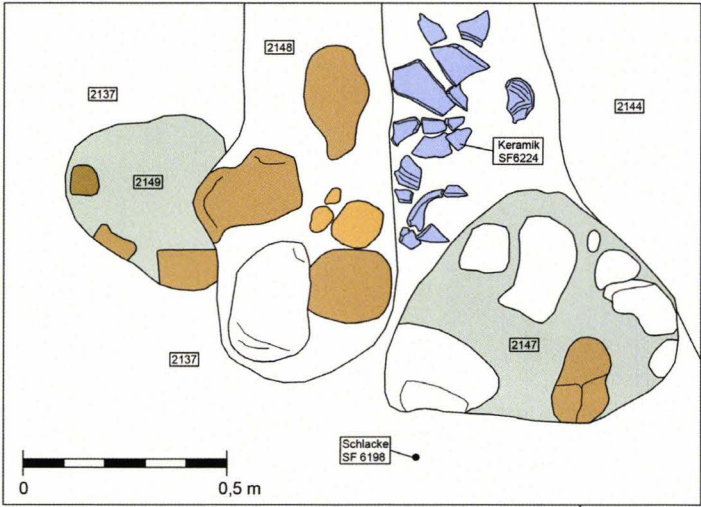
Die im Vorfeld umgesetzte geomagnetische Prospektion ließ auch im Bereich von Fläche C6 lediglich Anomalien erkennen, die auf Siedlungsreste schließen lassen – anders als im offenbar unbebaut gebliebenen Gebiet südlich der Straße. Konkrete Strukturen gaben die Messungen allerdings nicht zu erkennen.

Beim Abtrag der Ackerkrume (Cx 2132) zeigte sich, dass der Humus zur vorbeiführenden Ausfallstraße hin etwas ausdünnte, was mit dem Ansteigen des Pflughorizonts an den Schmalseiten der langrechteckigen Schollen zusammenhängen dürfte. Römische Funde in dieser obersten Schicht, insbesondere Keramik und Ziegelbruch sowie vereinzelte Metallobjekte und Knochen, deuten darauf hin, dass die antiken Befunde durch die zunehmend mechanisiert betriebene Feldbestellung fortlaufend in Mitleidenschaft gezogen werden.

Direkt unter der Krume kam im Süden der untersuchten Fläche bereits ab 0,40 m unter der Grasnarbe eine flächige (Grob-)Schotterlage (Cx 2134) zu Tage. Wenngleich die Oberfläche gestört war, ließ sich ein leichtes Abfallen nach Norden hin sowie ein vermehrtes Auftreten größerer, bis zu 30 cm große Flussgerölle am

¹⁴ Die Abkürzung „Cx“ für „context“ als Bezeichnung für eine stratigrafische Einheit; des Weiteren ist „SF“ für „small find“ gleichbedeutend mit Kleinfund (nach MOLAS 1994).

¹⁵ BERKE 1996, 603; WILLMITZER-PRUST 2017.



<https://biblioteca-digitala.ro> / <http://muzeulmures.ro>



Abb. 8. Die (Grob-)Schotterlage Cx 2132 an der südlichen Grabungsgrenze (K. Oberhofer).



Abb. 9. Gleichseitige Scheibenfibel mit Emailleinslagen und Backenscharnier (L. Lun und V. Disl).

Rand des Befundes feststellen (Abb. 8). Es könnte sich hierbei um die Reste des römischen Straßenkörpers oder um eine befestigte, sich platzartig ausweitende Verkehrsfläche handeln. Für beide Interpretationen ließen sich insbesondere an den Kastellstandorten der Nordwestprovinzen zahlreiche Vergleichsbeispiele anführen.¹⁶ Kennzeichnend für Randbereiche von Straßen und Plätzen sind Konzentrationen von Unrat, gleichbedeutend mit einem erhöhten Aufkommen von Fundmaterial. Dazu kann auch eine kleinere römische Abfallgrube gezählt werden. Deren stark humose Verfüllung (Cx 2136) war u. a. durchsetzt mit Keramikscherben, darunter auch ein *Turibulum*-Fragment, sowie Großtierresten, ehe sie später durch einen Baum(wurf) überprägt wurde (Abb. 7, Cx 2140). Die (Grob-)Schotterlage wies keine außergewöhnlich hohe Mächtigkeit auf, da an der östlichen Grabungsgrenze nur unwesentlich tiefer liegend bereits der anstehende Schluff (Cx 2151) freigelegt werden konnte.

Unmittelbar nördlich der (Grob-)Schotterlage ließ sich kein Hinweis auf eine grabenartige Struktur erkennen, die eine Interpretation als Straßenkörper mit begleitenden Gräben stützen würde. Stattdessen trat eine (zunächst nur an der Oberfläche dokumentierte) kompakte Lehmschicht mit römischen Fundmaterial zu Tage (Cx 2137).

Am nördlichen Grabungsrand wurden zwei grabenartige Strukturen untersucht. Eine vergleichsweise große und in ihrer Form unregelmäßige Grube (Cx 2133) war überwiegend mit verziegelten Hüttenlehmfragmenten und humosem Material sowie römischen Siedlungsabfall verfüllt (Cx 2141). Hierzu zählt auch eine gleichseitige Scheibenfibel mit Backenscharnier (Typ Riha 7.16)¹⁷ aus dem 2. Jahrhundert. Die rhombische Scheibe ist von der Seite betrachtet leicht gewölbt und besaß an der Längs- als auch an der Querachse symmetrische Fortsätze. In den vier erkennbaren rhombischen Vertiefungen lagen ursprünglich mehrere

¹⁶ Für Straßen: RATHMANN 2003; NUBER 2005, 412 f. Abb. 550, 553. Für Plätze zusammenfassend: SOMMER 2007, 87–93; SOMMER 2016, 54; THIEL 2016, 61–63. Vgl. auch römische Straße von Windisch (AG/CH) nach Zurzach (AG/CH) bei Döttingen-Chunte (AG/CH): GALIOTO 2017, 226.

¹⁷ SF 6175 (EXNER 1939, 56 f.; RIHA 1979, 191).

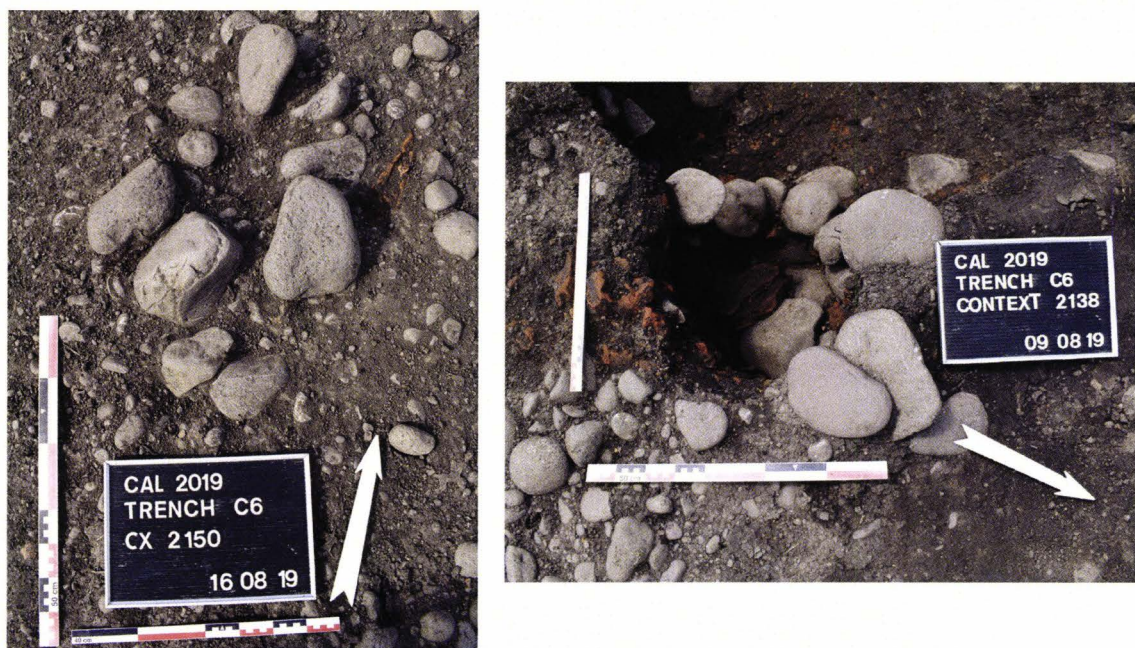


Abb. 10. Radial angeordnete Flussgerölle an der Oberkante der Pfostengrubenverfüllung Cx 2150 (links); lagig eingebrachtes Steinmaterial der Pfostengrubenverfüllung Cx 2138 (rechts); (M. Fiedler und K. Oberhofer).

Emailenlagen, von denen zwei in blauer Farbe teilweise erhalten geblieben sind (Abb. 9).

Auf eine weitere Grube an der nördlichen Grabungsgrenze könnte eine an der Oberfläche wesentlich unauffälligere Verfüllung (Cx 2142) hinweisen. Optisch nur schwer von den umliegenden Befunden zu unterscheiden, deutet der Nachweis von Keramik und Tierresten auf eine kleinere Abfallgrube oder auf eine mit Abfall verfüllte Pfostengrube hin.

Unmittelbar westlich von diesem Befund liegt eine ähnliche Struktur mit vergleichsweise vielen Steinen an der Oberfläche (Cx 2143), bei der es sich wahrscheinlich um eine Pfostengrube handelt.¹⁸ Hinzu kommt eine im Grundriss eher langrechteckige Verfärbung an der östlichen Grabungsgrenze, die ebenfalls eine Grube bzw. Pfostenstellung sein könnte.

Die insgesamt in Fläche C6 festgestellten Pfostengruben legen durch ihre Charakteristika, Verteilung und mutmaßliches Verhältnis zueinander eine mindestens zweiphasige Bebauung

des Areals in römischer Zeit nahe. In dem nur 100 m² großen Ausschnitt lassen sich natürlich keine vollständigen Grundrisse rekonstruieren; allerdings sind bis zu acht Gruben möglicherweise auf das Einbringen von Pfostenstellungen zurückzuführen. Pfostengruben geben sich nicht nur mit ihrer etwas dunkleren, humoseren Verfüllung zu erkennen, sondern wiederholt auch durch kreisförmig um den vergangenen Pfosten angeordnete Flussgerölle (Abb. 10, links). Dieses Steinmaterial stammt aus dem Flussbett des unweit vorbeifließenden Niraj.

In den lehmigen, aber nicht sehr tragfähigen Böden dienten die in der Regel faustgroßen Gerölle zur Stabilisierung der eingebrachten Pfosten. Wie exemplarisch bei Pfostengrube Cx 2139 gezeigt werden kann, verhinderte ihre nahezu lagige Einbringung an der konkaven Sohle ein Absinken des Pfostens (Abb. 10, rechts).

Der Umstand, dass mit diesen Geröllen – fallweise ergänzt mit Ziegelbruch – Pfosten

¹⁸ Zur hier verwendeten Terminologie und zur Holzbautechnik allgemein ausführlich: ZIMMERMANN 1998; HUTHER 2014.

besonders gut stabilisiert wurden, zeigte sich während der Dokumentation einer Pfosten-grube im Nordwesten der Fläche (Cx 2138). Das ursprünglich mittig in der Grube positionierte Holz von ca. 0,20 m Durchmesser wurde von mehreren Lagen der Flussgerölle eingefasst.

In einem Fall war eine Pfostengrube Cx 2139 in eine schon bestehende Grube Cx 2133 gesetzt worden, was ebenfalls einer Sicherung mit den lagig eingebrachten Flussgeröllen bedurfte (Abb. 7, Abb. 10, rechts).

Der hohe Anteil verbrannten Lehms in der Grubenverfüllung deutet auf das Abtragen älterer Bausubstanz hin, sodass diese Befunde auf eine gewisse Mehrphasigkeit der Bebauung schließen lassen. Wenngleich die Verfüllung der Pfostengrube Cx 2149 noch nicht vollständig entfernt werden konnte, bezeugt die Verwendung größerer Ziegelfragmente eine Letztverwendung schadhaften Baumaterials aus einer älteren Bauphase, das u. U. aus dem nahen Kastell stammen könnte.¹⁹

Von den acht mutmaßlichen Pfostenstellungen können derzeit vielleicht fünf mit einem Gebäudegrundriss in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Dem jetzigen Kenntnisstand nach erscheinen zwei potenzielle Arrangements möglich:²⁰

Die Pfosten Cx 2139 und Cx 2149 könnten gemeinsam mit einer Ansammlung radial angeordneter Flussgerölle zu einer Gebäudeecke gehört haben (Abb. 7). Nahezu im Winkel von 90° zueinander liegend scheinen sich hier zwei Wandfluchten abzuzeichnen. Das anzunehmende Gebäude orientierte sich demnach um ca. 12° von der Nord-Süd-Achse abweichend nach Südwesten hin und entsprach in seiner Ausrichtung im Wesentlichen der Orientierung der in den Flächen C1–C5 dokumentierten Schlüsselbefunde. Die hiesigen und dortigen Bauten könnten sich an einem gemeinsamen Bebauungsschema orientiert haben; die große Entfernung zueinander sowie

die divergierenden Konstruktionsweisen mit Pfosten- bzw. erdferner Ständerbauweise und anzunehmenden Schwellbalken deuten auf unterschiedliche Gebäude hin.

Alternativ könnte noch eine weitere Rekonstruktionsmöglichkeit der Gebäudefront in Betracht gezogen werden: Die Verfüllungen von Pfostengruben Cx 2139, Cx 2150 und Cx 2146 zusammen mit dem bereits erwähnten Muster der Flussgerölle würden ebenfalls auf zwei nahezu im rechten Winkel zueinander liegenden Wandfluchten hindeuten (Abb. 7). Möchte man in der (Grob-)Schotterlage Cx 2134 den Ausschnitt einer platzartigen, im Grundriss dreieckigen Aufweitung der römischen Straße sehen, ist eine derartige Ausrichtung des Gebäudes durchaus denkbar: Um ca. 16° von der Nord-Süd-Achse abweichend nach Südosten hin orientiert, könnte dies für eine Ausrichtung an eine möglicherweise dreieckige platzartige Freifläche im Vorfeld des Lagers sprechen. Die Pfostengrube Cx 2145 könnte ein erster Hinweis auf eine dem Gebäude vorgelagerte Porticus sein. Beide Arbeitshypothesen zur Ausrichtung der 2019 teilweise freigelegten Holzgebäude lassen zusammen mit den bereits bekannten Strukturen für das Siedlungsmuster des Kastellvicus von Călugăreni gewisse Parallelen zum sog. Ringtyp erkennen.²¹ Nach C. S. Sommer liegt in Buch, Dambach, Gnotzheim, Theilenhofen, Weißenburg und Pförring im raetischen Limesgebiet ein vergleichbares Gefüge vor, wo „die Gebäude mehrheitlich an der dem Kastell fernen Seite einer in einigem Abstand zu den Gräben um das Kastell führenden „Ringstraße“ liegen.“²²

Neben den Hinweisen auf Pfostenbauten ließen sich in Schnitt C6 an der nordöstlichen Grabungsgrenze einige Befunde freilegen, die mit einer gewerblichen Tätigkeit in Verbindung gebracht werden können.

Am Übergang zur Oberkante der erwähnten Grabenverfüllung (Cx 2148 bzw. Cx 2144)

¹⁹ DOBOS ET AL. 2017, 151.

²⁰ Zur Methodik beim Zusammenführen von Pfostengruben zu Gebäudegrundrissen in der prähistorischen Archäologie nach qualitativen Spezifika s. TREBSCHKE 2010 oder nach quantitativen Spezifika s. TREBSCHKE 2018 jeweils mit weiterer Literatur. Vergleichbare Studien für die römische Kaiserzeit wurden bis dato nicht umgesetzt.

²¹ Zum Forschungsstand mit weiterer Literatur: DOBOS ET AL. 2017, 147–149.

²² SOMMER 2016, 53, 57 Abb. 8.

bzw. im südöstlichen Bereich der Kulturschicht Cx 2137 lagen zahlreiche Fragmente, die von einem am Ort zerscherbten Keramikgefäß sehr ungewöhnlicher Form stammen (Abb. 11).²³ Das Objekt bestand aus zwei auf der Töpferscheibe gedrehten Körpern, die der Töpfer noch feucht in einem 90°-Winkel zusammengefügt hatte (Abb. 12a). Ein vermutlich nach oben weit geöffnetes Gefäß, dessen Rand allerdings nicht erhalten blieb, ist rundbodig und besitzt dort mittig eine etwa 2,5 cm große Öffnung. Der Topf hat einen Durchmesser von ungefähr 15 cm und schwingt nach oben auf etwa 20 cm Durchmesser aus. Seitlich an den unteren Bereich wurde eine separat gedrehte Röhre angesetzt, deren vollständige Länge nicht erhalten ist. Am Ansatz misst die Röhre 12 cm im Durchmesser; sie erweitert sich leicht auf der erhaltenen Länge von 25 cm auf etwa 15 cm im Durchmesser.

Die Form ist außergewöhnlich und eignet sich nicht als Gefäß zum Servieren, Kochen oder zur Vorratshaltung. Vielmehr liegt hier technische Keramik vor: Es könnte sich um ein Element eines Blasebalgs handeln, der analog zum Windkasten von Schmiedeessen als Windrohr anzusprechen ist und somit zu einer technischen Installation gehörte. Beispiele für keramische Blasebalg-Töpfe („*pot-bellows*“) gibt es bereits aus der Bronzezeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum:²⁴ Hier sind es recht flache, gedrungene Töpfe mit geradem Boden und einem Durchmesser von etwa 40 bis 50 cm bei einer Höhe von 25 cm. Knapp über dem Boden ist eine Röhre angesetzt, die innen einen Durchmesser von knapp 10 Zentimetern aufweist.²⁵ Der Rand des Topfes ist oben jeweils wulstartig gestaltet, manchmal auch mit einer begleitenden Rippe darunter versehen, um den Lederbalg sicher daran festzuzurren. Ein ähnliches System von keramischen Töpfen mit einem Stoff- oder Lederbalg wird noch heute in Westafrika bei



Abb. 11. Fundlage der technischen Gefäßkeramik an der Oberkante von Cx 2148 (K. Oberhofer).

der Glasverarbeitung genutzt:²⁶ Eine am Balg befestigte Holzstange dient bei diesen dazu, den Balg im Handbetrieb auf und ab zu bewegen und jeweils Luft ein- und ausströmen zu lassen. Während bei den metallzeitlichen Blasebalgtöpfen die Luftzufuhr offenbar über eine Öffnung im Lederbalg an der Oberseite gesteuert wurde,²⁷ diente hierfür bei dem römischen Exemplar aus Călugăreni vermutlich das Loch im Boden. Dies scheint dem Funktionsprinzip der heute noch genutzten afrikanischen Blasebälge zu entsprechen.²⁸ Vorstellbar ist, dass das vorliegende Gefäß in einem Sockel verankert war, wie dies auch bei den afrikanischen Parallelen der Fall ist. Die Arbeitshöhe konnte damit flexibel festgelegt werden. Andererseits unterscheidet sich die Gestalt unseres Topfes wegen der fehlenden Standfläche grundlegend von den vorgeschichtlichen Blasebalgtöpfen mit geradem Boden. Dies könnte für die Weiterentwicklung zu einer Windrohrkonstruktion an oder unter der Esse sprechen, die ein Arbeiten auf Hüfthöhe ermöglicht hätte.²⁹

Auf den Betrieb einer Hochtemperaturanlage in diesem Bereich wiesen auch

²³ Cx 2137, SF 6224.

²⁴ DAVEY 1979; KASSIANIDOU 2011; YAHALOM-MACK ET AL. 2017, 58 Abb. 3.

²⁵ DAVEY 1979, 104–105.

²⁶ ALEMAKA ET AL. 2016, 205 Abb. 2a.

²⁷ DAVEY 1979, 103 Abb. 2A.

²⁸ https://nomad4now.com/articles/red-walls-of-bida/dsc_2243-2/ (Zugriff 12.3.2021).

²⁹ Zur Zweitverwendung eines Steinartefaktes als Esse: LO RUSSO 2017, 442–449, bes. 447 f. Abb. 398.

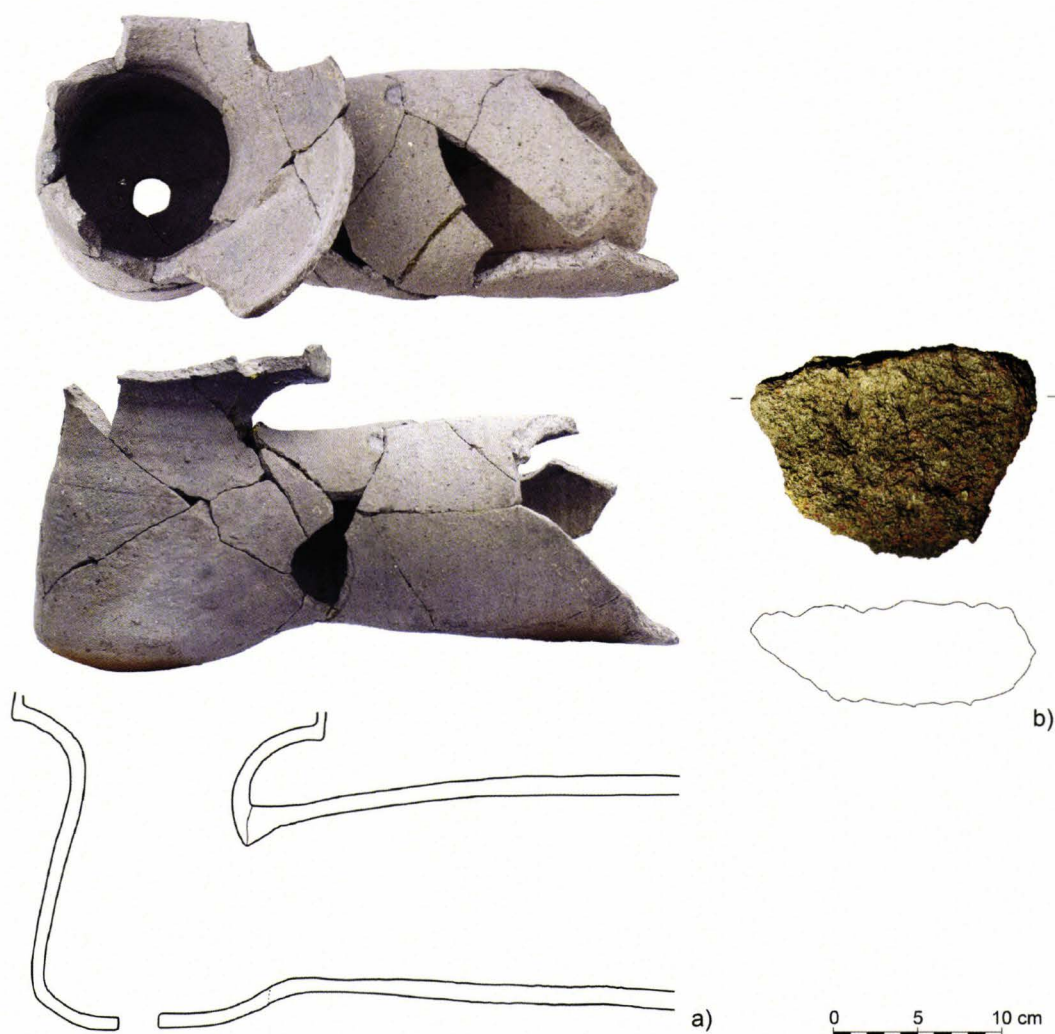


Abb. 12. Das mutmaßliche Windrohr (SF 6224, a) und die Schmiedeschlacke (SF 6198, b); M. 1:4 (C. Höpken und M. Fiedler).

brandgeschädigte Steine aus verschiedenen Kontexten hin (Cx 2147 und Cx 2148). Waren im Umfeld schon bei früheren Grabungen immer wieder größere Mengen amorpher Schlacken gefunden worden,³⁰ liefert nun ein Stück aus der Grabung von 2019 weitere Hinweise. Es handelt sich um eine kalottenförmige Schmiedeschlacke (Abb. 12b), wie sie beim Schmieden von Eisen in der Esse entsteht.³¹

Zusammen mit weiteren Metallfunden und Schlacken lassen sich in der Fläche C6 also die Hinterlassenschaften einer metallverarbeitenden Einrichtung vermuten.³² Ein Grundriss des eventuell mehrphasigen Gebäudes in Pfostenbauweise kann noch nicht rekonstruiert werden. Beachtenswert ist dabei die Ausstattung der Werkstatt mit einer keramischen Luftführung: Solche Anlagen sind eher im mediterranen

³⁰ BITAY ET AL. 2018; BITAY ET AL. 2020. Vergleichbar sind z.B. die Funde in Cham-Hagendorn: ESCHENLOHR 2014, bes. 400–402.

³¹ ORENGO ET AL. 2000, 51–55; ANDERSON ET AL. 2000, 107; SMETTAN ET AL. 2013.

³² POLFER 2000.

Osten üblich und im Westen u.W. bislang nicht nachgewiesen. Sollte dies nicht mit bislang fehlender Überlieferung in Zusammenhang stehen, ist es möglich, dass mit der mutmaßlich aus dem Orient stammenden Besatzung des Lagers auch ein Schmied aus der Region nach Dakien kam, der mit den ihm gewohnten Technologien eine Werkstatt betrieb. Hierfür hatte er bei einem lokalen Töpfer ein solches Windrohr in Auftrag gegeben.

Ob an dieser Stelle die ursprünglich eingetieften und dadurch erhalten gebliebenen Befunde allerdings tatsächlich mit einer

Schmiede o. ä. in Verbindung gebracht werden können, müssen zukünftige Untersuchungen klären. Bemerkenswert ist jedenfalls, dass der römische Siedlungshorizont in der untersuchten Fläche relativ gut erhalten blieb: Eine vergleichsweise hohe Zahl festgestellter Pfostengruben streicht neben den bis 2017 dokumentierten streifenförmigen Steinsetzungen neue Aspekte der im Kastellvicus angewandten Konstruktionstechnik der Gebäude heraus: Ihre Bauweise aus überwiegend vergänglichen Materialien hinterließ nur wenige Spuren im Boden.

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ROMAN JEWELLERY FROM CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA ON THE EASTERN LIMES OF DACIA¹

Ildikó TALABÉR*

Roman military sites are amongst the best researched in the province of Dacia, most of the jewellery from the province we know so far is from a military context. This study is intended to present the jewellery from the auxiliary fort and vicus of Călugăreni / Mikháza (37 objects), and the watchtower from the Tompa Hill (1 object). Beside a typological and a chronological point of view their context of discovery is also taken into consideration.

Keywords: Roman Dacia, military context, jewellery, small finds, eastern *limes*

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia romană, context militar, bijuterii, piese minore, *limes-ul* estic

Many studies presented Roman jewellery from the province of Dacia,² but since mainly military structures are in the focus of most researches, publications provide information mostly from these sites.³ Accordingly, the present material is also from the auxiliary fort and *vicus* of Călugăreni / Mikháza (Mureş / Maros County, Romania) and one object is from the watchtower on the Tompa Hill situated near by (Fig. 1), in the territory of Eremitu / Nyárádremete (Mureş / Maros County, Romania).

The auxiliary fort of Călugăreni was located on the eastern *limes* of Roman Dacia, controlling the Roman border section in the valleys of Niraj / Nyárád and Săcădat / Szakadát.⁴ The

cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum was stationed here from the 2nd – middle of 3rd century AD.

Since 2008, various archaeological investigations have been carried out in the fort and its surroundings (Fig. 2), and since 2011, research excavations have started in the military head-quarter (*principia*, A sector), the bathhouse (*balneum*, B sector) and the settlement (*vicus*, C sector) of the site.⁵ In the *principia* of the Roman fort two construction phases could be observed, an earlier phase with a timber building and a later one with stone building, but the absolute chronology of these phases cannot be established yet.⁶

The Eastern Carpathians played a decisive

¹ The present study includes the Roman jewellery discovered up to 2018, so the results and conclusions should be read in this context. Hereby I would like to thank to Szilámér-Péter Pánczél, head of the Gurghiu Castle and RLRC Department of Mureş County Museum, for allowing me to research and publish these finds.

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² See: ISAC 1999; BENEÁ 2004; ISAC-GAIU 2006; HAMAT-DINULESCU 2014; HAMAT 2016a; HAMAT 2016b, HAMAT 2017; HAMAT 2018.

³ VASS 2010, 129.

⁴ PÁNCZÉL 2018, 141.

⁵ PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018, 17.

⁶ PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018, 17.

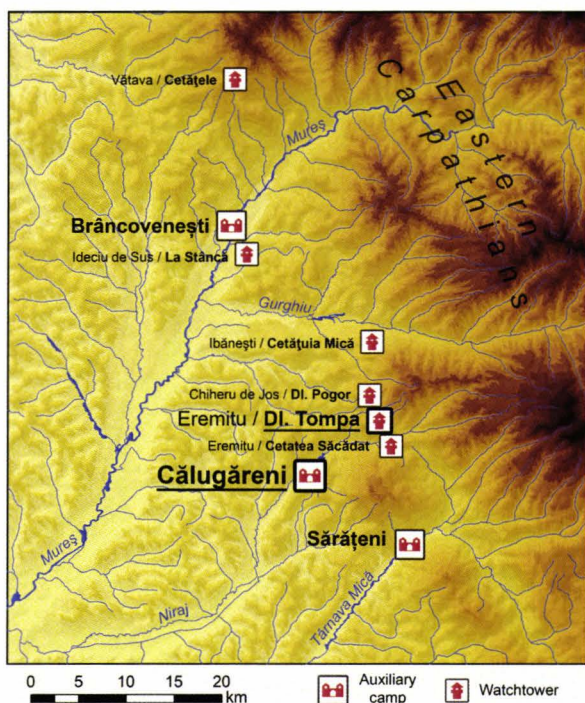


Fig. 1. The eastern *limes* of Roman Dacia between Brâncovenesti and Călugăreni (M. Szabó)

role in the protection of the Roman border.⁷ The watchtowers located on its western slopes have been researched systematically since 2008 by the means of aerial survey.⁸ Since 2011 on the border section between Brâncovenesti / Marosvécs and Călugăreni due to complex archaeological investigations six watchtowers have been identified so far.⁹ On the top of Tompa Hill two watchtowers have been located, which could chronologically belong to different sequences.¹⁰

Thanks to the archaeological excavations and field surveys 37 pieces of jewellery were

discovered in Călugăreni and one ring was found on the Tompa hill up to 2018. From Călugăreni the jewellery (Fig. 3) was discovered mainly in the *vicus* area (17), but there were a considerable number in the *principia* (11) and in the *balneum* too (9).

In our collection (Fig. 4) the predominance of beads was observed (22), followed by the rings (8), and the percentage of other jewellery types was less significant (2 pieces of gems, 2 pieces of hairpins, 1 earring, 1 necklace fastener (?), 1 bracelet, 1 insert). In terms of raw material (Fig. 5.), the highest percentage is made of glass due to the high quantity of beads (23 pieces), the presence of bronze is less spectacular (8 pieces) and the remaining materials are represented at a smaller scale (iron 3, gold 2, carnelian 2).

Jewellery can only be dated to a wide time frame, because their long period of use. So referring to the existence of Roman Dacia and according to the stratigraphy of the site (from the early 2nd to the middle of the 3rd century AD), we can date the jewels roughly also to the 2nd – middle of the 3rd century AD.

The **hairpins** (Cat. 1–2) can occur not only in civilian but also in military context,¹¹ and they can be positioned between jewellery and the tools used in everyday life.¹² Fine crafted hairpins had a more decorative function, while the cheaper, simpler ones served practical purposes.¹³ The hairpins can be made of a wide variety of materials, of which the bone was the most popular.¹⁴ However, only two pieces of bronze hairpins were found in the excavations, one with a multipart head¹⁵ in the *vicus* and one with an oval-head¹⁶ in the *balneum*. The latter

⁷ PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2014, 23.

⁸ SZABÓ 2009; SZABÓ 2016, 244–257.

⁹ HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016, 242.

¹⁰ HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016, 247.

¹¹ ISAC 1999, 759.

¹² RUPRECHTSBERGER 1979, 9.

¹³ JOHNS 1996, 139.

¹⁴ GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1990–1991, 81–126 (160 hairpins are presented).

¹⁵ FACSÁDY 2009, 87, Type VIII?; COOL 1990, 154, Group 3/A (1st–2nd century AD); ISAC 1999, 759, 776, Type VIII, Taf. X, Abb. 68–70. (Samum, 2nd–3rd century AD); ALICU-COCIȘ 1989, 236–237, Pl. VI–VII, 60–63 (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, bronze with multipart decoration, 2nd–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 111, Typ 12.26 (2nd– first part of the 3rd century AD).

¹⁶ FACSÁDY 2009, 85, Type VI, Kat. 329; COOL 1990, 151, Group 1/E (Fig. 1.4, 1st–2nd century AD); ISAC 1999, 759, Type IV, 775, Taf. IX, Abb. 61 (Samum, 2nd–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 105–106, Typ 12.16.



Fig. 2. The research excavation at the Roman auxiliary fort and *vicus* from Călugăreni (N. Laczkó and Sz. P. Pánczél)

was common in the Roman provinces throughout the Imperial age.¹⁷

Earrings (Cat. 3) were typical women's jewellery in Roman times, and their use differed from other jewellery types, because it required external intervention, the piercing of the earlobes. In our collection a gold, hook-and-eye fastened type earring is known from the *principia*. The wire was twisted behind the loop and hook. The type corresponds to the Ruseva-Slokoska

I/3A type,¹⁸ which goes back to the Hellenistic age, and Roman analogies are known from the 2nd century AD.¹⁹

A spiral embellishment, found in the *vicus* and made out of a bronze wire was popular on earrings,²⁰ but based on its size, it could have been part of a bead (?) **necklace** fastener (Cat. 4) and it is quite rare in military context.²¹

Beads (Cat. 5–26) seem to be overrepresented in the collection. They can be parts of a

¹⁷ RIHA 1990, 106.

¹⁸ RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 26, Type I, var. 3A (gold, 2nd century AD).

¹⁹ POPOVIĆ 1996, 18, Type I, var. 4 (Viminacium, 2nd–3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 73, Type I/b (2nd–4th century AD); MILOVANOVIĆ 2004, 14, Type IIa (3rd–4th century AD); PEROK 2012, 19, Tip 1.3 (2nd–4th century AD); HAMAT 2016, 155, Pl. II, 7, Tip. I, var. 1 (Apulum, 2nd–3rd century AD). Analogies: ALICU-COCIŞ 1989, 235, Pl. V, 44 (gold, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, 2nd–3rd century AD); BUZA-KESZI 2009, 9, Kat. 23, 25; 10, Kat. 30; 16, Kat. 64 (Intercisa); POPOVIĆ 2001, 122–123, Kat. 31–33 (Viminacium, 2nd–3rd century AD).

²⁰ FACSÁDY 2009, 74, Type II/a (gold, 2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1996, 18, Type I, var. 4, cat. 27–29 (2nd–3rd century AD); RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 26, Type I, var. 3C (gold, 2nd century AD); HAMAT 2016, 155, Pl. II, 1, 5, Tip. I, var. 2. (Apulum, 2nd–3rd century AD).

²¹ ISAC 1999, 758.

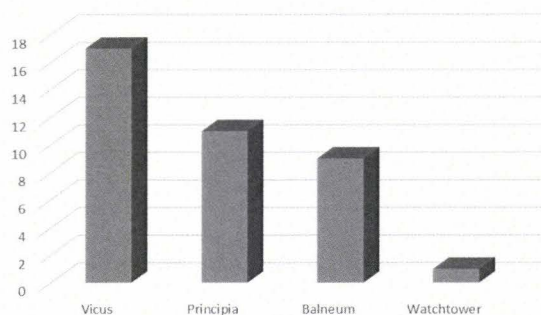


Fig. 3. The distribution of the finds based on their place of discovery

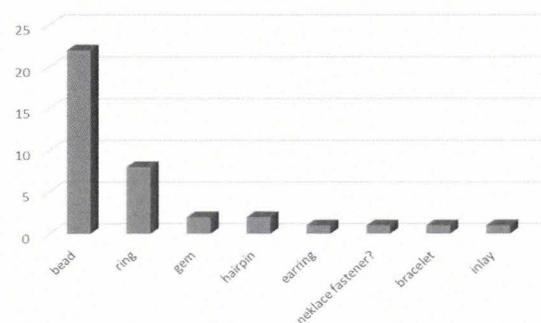


Fig. 4. The distribution of the finds based on their functionality

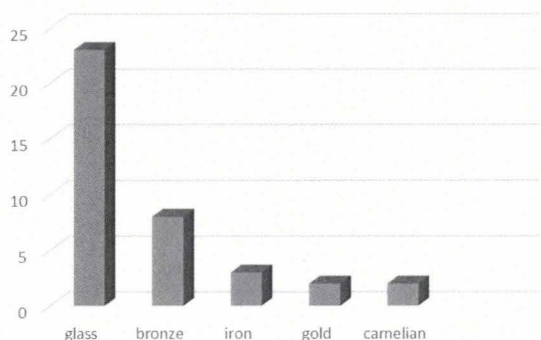


Fig. 5. The distribution of the finds based on their raw materials

bead necklace and can also be used as decorative elements for footwear, belts, and purses,²² but before the 2nd half of the 3rd century AD

they mostly adorned necklaces.

In the Roman period, the beads could have a variety of colours, materials and shapes, which were combined even within a bead necklace. All of the examined pieces (22) are made of glass. Their forms are varied, we can find spherical, hexagonal, cylindrical, spindle shaped, prismatic, conical, conical and, lentil shaped, with colours dominated by blue, green, orange/red and black (Fig. 6–7.) Based on their shape and colour, they could be classified into eight groups. According to their place of discovery, the manner of their use is unclear (4 are from the *principia*, 8 from the baths and 10 from the *vicus*).

An opened bronze **bracelet** with tapering ends (Cat. 27) came to light in the *principia*, which was popular throughout the Roman Imperial period²³ and corresponds to the type of Facsády VI/a²⁴ and type of Riha 12²⁵.

Bronze and iron **rings** are frequent in military context.²⁶ In our collection, one gold, four bronze and two iron *rings* (Cat. 28–35) are known from the fort and its surroundings, and one iron ring with gem from the watchtower on the Tompa Hill.

Rings were the most popular jewellery in the Roman Empire, which could be worn by women, men and children alike. It is a kind of jewellery with many meanings and the best expression of the social status. It is problematic, which gender we can link with them unless they come from graves, because their size doesn't indicate necessary who was the owner. Wealthy women could wear several rings at the same time, but their middle finger was usually free,²⁷ while wearing rings on the middle and the last fingertips was a men's habit, because the ring worn otherwise was feminine.²⁸ The shape, design and decoration of the rings show great variety, but they have the best-developed typology within the jewellery.

²² BORUZZ 2016, 388.

²³ RIHA 1990, 55, Nr. 528–534, Taf. 18; SWIFT 2000, 127, Fig. 153.

²⁴ FACSÁDY 2009, 47, Type VI/a (3rd–4th century AD)

²⁵ RIHA 1990, 56.

²⁶ ISAC 1999, 756.

²⁷ DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1984, 24.

²⁸ TÓTH 1985, 14.

The gold ring decorated with an orange carnelian²⁹ (Cat. 28), and an iron ring with the gem featuring a Satyr³⁰ (Cat. 29) corresponds to the type of Guiraud 2a. This type was characteristic from the 1st century to the middle of the 3rd century AD.

A bronze ring with agate gem³¹ (Cat. 30) featuring a winged Amor³² (Cat. 31) and an iron ring with an engraved winged Amor image³³ (Cat. 32) correspond to Guiraud's 2d type,³⁴ which was present in the Empire from the end of the 1st to the end of the 3rd century AD.

Our bronze ring with an enamel inlay³⁵ can be categorized as Guiraud's 3d type (Cat. 33), which was characteristic during the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. In Rhineland and in the western provinces of the Empire rings with enamel inlay became popular in the second half of the 2nd century AD, but their use was no longer typical in the second half of the 3rd century AD.³⁶

The iron ring with an open end with strongly stylised snakeheads corresponds to Guiraud 7a type (Cat. 34), which was popular from the 1st to the 4th century AD.³⁷ Because the snake had a symbolic and protective role,³⁸ rings and

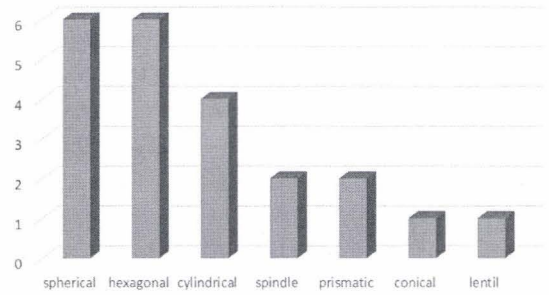


Fig. 6. The distribution of beads based on their shape

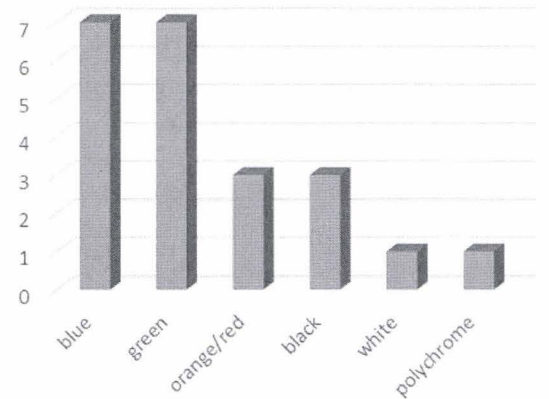


Fig. 7. The distribution of beads based on their colour

²⁹ GUIRAUD 1989, 182, Bague 2a (1st century–first part of 2nd century AD / middle of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Type II, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. IX/174 (early Imperial period).

³⁰ HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016, 245, Abb. 5.4. Analogies: GUIRAUD 1989, 182, Bague 2a (1st/early 2nd century AD–the middle of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Type II, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. LVI/1468–69, Taf. LVII/1475 (early Imperial Period); RUSEVA-SŁOKOSKA 1991, 77, Type I, var. 4. (iron, 2nd century AD, cat. no. 275). Gem: DEMBSKI 2005, 102–105, Kat. 508–536 (Representing a Satyr in profile, stepping / dancing movement, right hand holding grapes, in another a *peditum*); GESZTELYI 2000, 42, Kat. 32 (1st century AD); GUIRAUD 1988, 116, PLVIII/271 (2nd century AD); HENIG 1974, 29, cat. 172–177 (2nd century AD); PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 205, Taf. 64/ 330 (carnelian, 1st century AD); HAMAT 2017, 421, Fig. 3 (Tibiscum).

³¹ GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XLVII/1213 (3rd century AD).

³² GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 30, Typ 2.1.2, Taf. 2/20 (second part of the 2nd century–first part of the 3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XLVIII/1244 (3rd century AD). Gem: GESZTELYI 2000, 57, Kat. 116 (winged Amor in profile, his legs are crossed, one hand holds a helmet and in another a palm branch, 2nd century AD); ALICU–COCIȘ 1989, 232, Pl. II, 23. (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, 2nd–3rd century AD).

³³ GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. LVIII/1534. (early Imperial Period); gem: DEMBSKI 2005, 77–81, Kat. 245–248; PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 224, Taf. 70/366.

³⁴ GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD).

³⁵ GUIRAUD 1989, 186, Bague 3d (2nd–3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 32–33, Type V/b (end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 33, Typ 2.2, Taf. 7/108 (end of the 1st century–first half of the 3rd century AD); HENKEL 1913, Taf. L/1319 (3rd century AD); TALABÉR 2018, 96, Kat. 12 (3rd century AD).

³⁶ RIHA 1990, 33; BÓNIS–SELYE 1988, 35.

³⁷ GUIRAUD 1989, 195, Bague 7a (1st century–beginning of the 4th century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 33, Type VIII (3rd–4th century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 13, Fig. 7, Typ VII, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XXX/752–757 (bronze).

³⁸ JOHNS 1996, 44.

bracelets with snakeheads endings represented an important place in the Hellenistic and early Roman fashion. The beautifully elaborated specimens made of precious metals can be found in Pompeii and Herculaneum as well,³⁹ but become more schematic in later times.

The last piece in the collection is a simple, closed bronze ring (Cat. 35), which can be classified into the Guiraud 8b group and was commonly used in the 1st–5th century AD,⁴⁰ but its function as a jewel is uncertain.⁴¹

Two carnelian **gems** (Cat. 36–37) were found in the *vicus* area, one with a figure of a Satyr,⁴² and the other with an engraved image of a standing figure with a twisted rod.

Although the depictions of the war-related deities, Mars, Minerva and Venus *victrix* were popular themes on gems in Dacia Superior,⁴³ engraved images of Amor and Satyrs, depicting idyllic carefree life and reflecting to the late Hellenistic era,⁴⁴ are more prominent in our material. The helmet and the palm branch somewhat could relate to military and victory in the representation of Amor, but these depictions could still have been an expression of the desire for peaceful life for the soldiers and their families.⁴⁵

Finally, a square, green glass **inlay** (Cat. 38) came to light from the *vicus*, which could be placed mainly in the setting of gold earrings and rings.⁴⁶ During this period, the popular emerald

was imitated with green glass.

One third of the presented artefacts was discovered in clear military context (four beads, five rings, one gold earring, and one bracelet), and come from the military headquarters' building of Călugăreni (Fig. 8) and one from the watchtower on the Tompa Hill. Rings could worn by both sexes in the Roman period, but while men were rather practical (signet ring), women preferred to wear them as adornments. Among the rings, there are two pieces with gems, one closed ring, one enamelled and one ring with snake heads ends. It should be noted that, among the beads some may have been decorative elements for footwear, belts and purses.⁴⁷ Beads are scattered in the fort, so they couldn't be part of only one necklace. The examined bracelet is one of the simplest types. The gold earring of the collection was found in the *principia* and typically classified as women's jewellery. Hair-pins are still unknown from the headquarters' building of Călugăreni. The earring, the bracelet, the enamelled ring, and the beads, if they are identified as part of a necklace, as women's jewellery, while the iron gemmed ring from the Tompa Hill and the bronze ring with winged Amor could have been worn rather by men. In the other cases, the jewellery's gender-relation cannot be clearly defined.

Lóránt Vass dealt with items related to women's clothing and activities, known from

³⁹ D'AMBROSIO ET AL. 2004, II/48, IV/56, IV/75, IV/262.

⁴⁰ GUIRAUD 1989, 197, Bague 8b (1st century–beginning of the 5th century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 33–34, Type X (Dacia, 2nd century AD); HENKEL 1913, Taf. XXIV/477, 480; ISAC 1999, 768. Taf. II, Abb. 14, Typ VI, (second part of the 2nd century AD); ALICU-COCIŞ 1989, 231, Pl. I, 4–8 (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, 2nd–3rd century AD)

⁴¹ JOHNS 1996, 71.

⁴² DEMBSKI 2005, 102–105, Kat. 508–518 (representing a Satyr in profile, stepping / dancing movement, right hand holding grapes, in another a *pedum*); GESZTELYI 2000, 42, Kat. 32 (1st century AD); GUIRAUD 1988, 116, PLVIII/271 (2nd century AD); HENIG 1974, 29, cat. 172–177 (2nd century AD); PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 205, Taf 64/330 (carnelian, 1st century AD); HAMAT 2017, 421, Fig. 3 (Tibiscum).

⁴³ ISAC 1999, 755.

⁴⁴ GESZTELYI 1998, 56.

⁴⁵ GESZTELYI 1998, 57.

⁴⁶ POPOVIĆ 1996, cat. 76, 79 (it could have been inlay of earrings, 2nd–3rd century AD); PEROK 2012, 29, Tip. 2.5; 52–53, cat. 41–43 (2nd–3rd century AD); MILOVANOVIC 2004, 7, Type Vc (2nd–3rd century AD); RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 30, Type II, var. 2, cat. no. 47, 49 (2nd–3rd century AD); Group II, cat. no. 61–62 (end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 75, Type VI/a (S-shaped hook, the head part is a square stone or glass paste in a closed box setting, 3rd century AD); 76, Type IX (S-shaped hook, combined, end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD). Ring: DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1984, Farbtaf VI.

⁴⁷ BORUZZ 2016, 388.

forts of Roman Dacia, and despite their small number they confirm the presence of women in military areas.⁴⁸ Their main occurrence can be observed in the quarters of officers and soldiers.⁴⁹ A large number of hairpins, rings and beads or even bracelets can be found there, while necklaces and earrings are represented in smaller numbers.⁵⁰

Our collection represent a group of easier-to-do pieces of Roman jewellery and fit into the known finds of forts or other military contexts of Roman Dacia. Some piece of jewellery (earring, bracelet, etc.) found in the area of the *principia* could belong to the officers' wives or members of their households who lived inside the fort.⁵¹

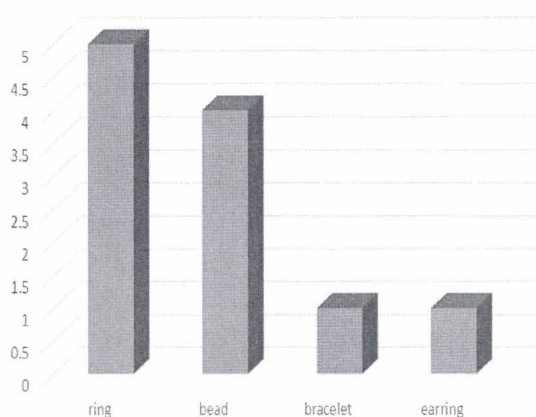


Fig. 8. The distribution of the jewels from the *principia* based on their functionality

CATALOGUE

1. Bronze hairpin

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2039

Inv. no.: 14570

Description: Hairpin made from bronze, with a square head. The top of the head is rounded. The head and the body decorated with grooves.

Size: 10.8 cm (l.); 0.4 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: FACSÁDY 2009, 87, Type VIII (?); COOL 1990, 154, Group 3/A; ISAC 1999, 759, Type VIII; RIHA 1990, 111, Typ 12.26.

2. Bronze hairpin

Provenance: Călugăreni, *balneum* (B sector), context Spoil

Inv. no.: 14571

Description: Bronze hairpin ending in oval head. Deformed.

Size: 10.6 cm (l.); 0.3 cm (th.), head: 1 × 0.8 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: FACSÁDY 2009, 85, Type VI; COOL

1990, 151, Group 1/E; ISAC 1999, 759, Type IV; RIHA 1990, 105–106, Typ 12.16.

3. Gold earring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 416

Inv. no.: 15599

Description: Gold hoop formed from circular-sectioned wire, the ends fasten in hook and eye. The hook twisted to the loop. The loop is bent and twisted to the hoop.

Size: 1.2 × 1.8 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: POPOVIĆ 1996, 18, Type I, var. 4; FACSÁDY 2009, 73, Type I/b; MILOVANOVIĆ 2004, 14, type IIa; PEROK 2012, 19, Tip 1.3; RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 26, Type I, var. 3A; HAMAT 2016c, 155, Pl. II, 7, Tip. I, var. 1.

4. Bronze spiral

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2094

Inv. no.: 14544

Description: Bronze spiral embellishment.

⁴⁸ VASS 2010, 128.

⁴⁹ VASS 2010, 134.

⁵⁰ VASS 2010, 131–132.

⁵¹ VASS 2010, 135.

Possible necklace fastener.

Size: 0.1 cm (th.), spiral: 0.8 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: –

5. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2089

Inv. no.: 15600

Description: Spherical white glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.9 × 0.7 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 6, Taf. I/1 (second part of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.B (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

6. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, principia (A sector), context 32

Inv. no.: 15601

Description: Spherical black glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.67 (diam.); 0.5 cm (th.); 0.5 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 11 (second part of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 14; GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.B (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

7. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, principia (A sector), context 109

Inv. no.: 15602

Description: Spherical black glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.67 cm (diam.), 0.49 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 11 (second part of the

2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 14; GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.B (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

8. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2001

Inv. no.: 15603

Description: Spherical blue glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.4 × 0.35 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 23, Taf. I/23 (second part of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 15; GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

9. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2086

Inv. no.: 15604

Description: Spherical blue glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.42 × 0.3 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 23, Taf. I/23 (second part of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 15; GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

10. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, principia (A sector), context 128

Inv. no.: 15605

Description: Spherical green glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.3 × 0.3 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 27–29, Gruppe I, Typ 24, Taf. I/23 (second part

of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 15; GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul I, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type I.1.A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

11. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2088

Inv. no.: 15606

Description: Conical blue glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.68 cm (diam.), 0.42 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 31–32, Gruppe IV, Typ 57; MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 6; ALFÖLDI 1957, 442, Abb. 94/41; RIHA 1990, 86, Typ 11.12 (throughout the Roman Imperial period).

12. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2049

Inv. no.: 15607

Description: Spindle-shaped green glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.47 cm (diam.), 1 cm (l.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 32, Gruppe V; MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 10; RIHA 1990, 87, Typ 11.14 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); VASS 2010, 147, Pl. 1/14; ISAC 1999, 758, 772, Taf. VI/36, Typ VII (Gilău / Gyalu, 2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul II, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type II (Tibiscum, 2nd–3rd century AD).

13. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *balneum* (B sector), context 3148

Inv. no.: 15608

Description: Lentil-shaped, flat, light blue glass bead, opaque.

Size: 0.82 cm (diam.), 0.36 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 33, Gruppe IX, Typ 89; MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 12; GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IV, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type VII (Tibiscum, time of Marcus Aurelius).

14. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 114

Inv. no.: 15609

Description: Rectangular, green glass bead, with six faces, opaque.

Size: 0.89 cm (l.), 0.59 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 117 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ALFÖLDI 1957, 442, Abb. 94/24 (popular from the 2nd/3rd century AD); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2A (Tibiscum).

15. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *balneum* (B sector), context 3130

Inv. no.: 15610

Description: Rectangular, light green glass bead, with six faces, opaque.

Size: 0.9 cm (l.), 0.4 cm (th.), 0.56 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 117 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ALFÖLDI 1957, 442, Abb. 94/24, (popular from the 2nd/3rd century AD); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2A (Tibiscum).

16. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2043

Inv. no.: 15611

Description: Rectangular, blue glass bead, with six faces, opaque. Fragmentary.

Size: 0.68 cm (l.), 0.33 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 118 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ALFÖLDI 1957, 442, Abb. 94/24. (popular from the 2nd/3rd century AD); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2A (Tibiscum).

17. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, balneum (B sector), context 3050

Inv. no.: 15612

Description: Flat hexagonal, orange/red glass bead.

Size: 1 cm (l.), 0.37 cm (th.), 0.83 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 121 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2B (Tibiscum, imitation of carnelian types, 2nd–3rd century AD).

18. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, balneum (B sector), context 3051

Inv. no.: 15613

Description: Flat hexagonal, orange/red glass bead.

Size: 1.1 cm (l.), 0.38 cm (th.), 0.82 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 121 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2B (Tibiscum, imitation of carnelian types, 2nd–3rd century AD).

19. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, balneum (B sector), context 3152

Inv. no.: 15614

Description: Flat hexagonal, orange/red glass bead.

Size: 1.1 cm (l.), 0.4 cm (th.), 0.89 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 35, Gruppe XII, Typ 121 (from the 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 4; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.23.2 (throughout the Roman Imperial period); ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 33–34, Typ V (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA-BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul IX, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type IV/2B (Tibiscum, imitation of carnelian types, 2nd–3rd century AD).

20. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, balneum (B sector), context 3152

Inv. no.: 15615

Description: Prismatic blue glass bead with smoothed corners.

Size: 0.84 cm (l.), 0.55 cm (th. and w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 37, Gruppe XIV, Typ 126 (from 2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); DÉVAI-GELENC-SÉR 2012, 73, ábra 17 (from the 3rd century AD in the Roman Empire); GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type V/1 (Tibiscum, 2nd century–4th/5th century AD).

21. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2051

Inv. no.: 15616

Description: Prismatic blue glass bead with smoothed corners. Fragmentary.

Size: 0.5 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 37, Gruppe XIV, Typ 126 (2nd part of the 2nd century–4th/5th century AD); DÉVAI–GELENC-SÉR 2012, 73, ábra 17 (from the 3rd century AD in the Roman Empire); GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type V/1 (Tibiscum, 2nd century–4th/5th century AD.).

22. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *balneum* (B sector), context 3148

Inv. no.: 15617

Description: Short cylindrical light green glass bead.

Size: 0.59 cm (l.), 0.5 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 38, Gruppe XV (2nd part of the 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 11.

23. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2082

Inv. no.: 15618

Description: Cylindrical green glass bead.

Size: 0.63 cm (l.), 0.4 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 38, Gruppe XV, Typ 140 (from the 2nd part of the 3rd century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 5; ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 35, Typ VI (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul XI, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type III/1A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

24. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2089

Inv. no.: 15619

Description: Cylindrical green glass bead.

Size: 1 cm (l.), 0.43 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 38, Gruppe XV, Typ 140 (from the 2nd part of the 3rd century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 5; ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 35, Typ VI (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul XI, var. 1; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type III/1A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

25. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *balneum* (B sector), context 3148

Inv. no.: 15620

Description: Cylindrical black glass bead. Fragmentary.

Size: 0.58 cm (l.), 0.28 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 38, Gruppe XV, Typ 141 (from the 2nd part of the 3rd century AD); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 12; ISAC 1999, 772, Taf. VI, Abb. 35, Typ VI (2nd–3rd century AD); GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Fig. 1, Tipul XI, var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type III/1A (Tibiscum, 2nd century AD–late Empire/Hunnic period).

26. Glass bead

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2001

Inv. no.: 15621

Description: Polychrome, spindle-shaped blue glass bead with wavelike white and red coloured decoration.

Size: 1 cm (l.), 0.45 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd – 3rd century AD

Typology: decoration:

TEMPELMANN-MACZYŃSKA 1985, 53, Gruppe XXII, Typ 262 / 323 (Typ 262: 2nd century AD–late Imperial period); MIKLÓSITY SZŐKE 1997, 170, Type 10; RIHA 1990, 89, Typ 11.21, Taf. 38/1278 (3rd–4th century AD); LÁNYI 1972, 169, Abb. 63/57; GUDEA–BAJUSZ 1982, Tipul II,

var. 2; GRUMEZA 2013, 155, Pl. I, Type II. (Tibiscum, 2nd–3rd century AD).

27. Bronze bracelet

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 540

Inv. no.: 15622

Description: Open, undecorated bronze bracelet formed from oval-sectioned wire with tapering ends, one end is broken. Deformed.

Size: 4.8 × 5.2 cm (diam.), 0.2 cm (w.), 0.18 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: FACSÁDY 2009, 47, Type VI/a (3rd–4th century AD); RIHA 1990, 56, Typ 3.12.

28. Gold ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 104

Inv. no.: 15623

Description: Gold ring with a slightly widening head part. An oval carnelian gem in the head. The hoop is deformed.

Size: 2 × 1.8 cm (diam.), 0.2 and 0.5 cm (w.), 0.1 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 182, Bague 2a (1st century–first part of the 2nd century AD and the middle of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Type II, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. IX/174 (early Imperial period).

29. Iron ring

Provenance: Eremitu, Tompa Hill, watchtower

Inv. no.: 15624

Description: Iron ring with „D” cross-sectioned hoop. On the slightly widened head is an oval white-dark blue nicolo gem. The gem features a Satyr in dancing movement. In his left hand holds a bunch of grapes, in the other one a *pedum/lagobolon*. His little horsetail is clearly visible. The gem is oval with slanted side.

Size: 2.4 × 2.3 cm (diam.), 0.5 cm (th.); gem: 1.4 × 1 cm

Literature: HÖPKEN ET AL. 2016, 245, Abb. 5.4.

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 182, Bague 2a (1st/early

2nd century AD–the middle of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Type II, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. LVI/1468–69, Taf. LVII/1475 (early Imperial period); RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 77, Type I, var. 4. (iron, 2nd century AD, cat. no. 275.); *gem:* DEMBSKI 2005, 102–105, Kat. 508–536; GESZTELYI 2000, 42, Kat. 32. (1th century AD); GUIRAUD 1988, 116, Pl. VIII/271 (2nd century AD); HENIG 1974, 29, cat. 172–177 (2nd century AD); PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 205, Taf. 64/330 (carnelian, 1st century AD); HAMAT 2017, 421, Fig. 3 (Tibiscum).

30. Bronze ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 116

Inv. no.: 8866

Description: Bronze ring with slightly widening shoulders. On its head is an oval setting, from which the gemstone fell out. Fragmentary, deformed. The gem is oval, two layered, brown-white agate.

Size: 21.9 × 1.2 cm (diam.), 0.086 cm (th.); 0.2 and 0.5 cm (w.) head: 0.8 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XLVII/1213 (3rd century AD).

31. Bronze ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 114

Inv. no.: 8837

Description: Ring made from bronze plate, with slightly widening shoulders. On its head is an oval setting, in which is a two layered, light blue-dark blue nicolo gem. The gem features a winged Amor in profile, his legs are crossed, one hand holds a helmet (?) and in another a palm branch.

Size: 1.7 cm (diam.), 0.06 cm (th.); 0.1 and 0.6 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end

of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 30, Typ 2.1.2, Taf. 2/20. (second part of the 2nd century–first part of the 3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2. Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XLVIII/1244 (3rd century AD); gem: GESZTELYI 2000, 57, Kat. 116 (winged Amor in profile, his legs are crossed, one hand holds a helmet and in another a palm branch, 2nd century AD).

32. Iron ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 2051

Inv. no.: 8867

Description: Part of iron ring made from bronze plate, widening at the shoulders. On its head is an oval setting, in which is a two layered, light blue–dark blue nicolo gem. The gem features a winged Amor in profile, walking left. In his hands is a bow.

Size: 0.4 cm (th.); 0.1 and 0.4 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 183, Bague 2d (end of the 1st century–end of the 3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 30, Type I/b (2nd–3rd century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 12, Fig. 2, Typ II, var. 4; HENKEL 1913, Taf. LVIII/1534 (early Imperial period); gem: DEMBSKI 2005, 77–81, Kat. 245–248; PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 224, Taf. 70/366.

33. Bronze ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 550

Inv. no.: 15625

Description: Circular bronze ring, formed from D-sectioned bronze wire. The shoulders have decoration, the head-part is circular, in which yellow-enamel with white point is to be seen.

Size: 1.9 × 1.6 cm (diam.), 0.09 cm (th.); head: 0.6 × 0.7 cm (diam.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 186, Bague 3d (2nd–3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 32–33, Type V/b (end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD); RIHA 1990, 33, Typ 2.2, Taf. 7/108. (end of the 1st century–first half of the 3rd century AD);

HENKEL 1913, Taf. L/1319 (3rd century AD).

34. Iron ring

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 118

Inv. no.: 14589

Description: Open ring, formed from square-sectioned iron wire. The ends are flattened and widened, which imitation snake head.

Size: 1.9 × 2.1 cm (diam.), 0.3 cm (th.); 0.4 cm (w.), ends: 0.7 cm (w.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 195, Bague 7a (1st century–beginning of the 4th century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 33, Type VIII (3rd–4th century AD); POPOVIĆ 1992, 13, Fig. 7, Typ VII, var. 1; HENKEL 1913, Taf. XXX/752–757 (bronze).

35. Bronze ring (?)

Provenance: Călugăreni, *principia* (A sector), context 550

Inv. no.: 15626

Description: Smooth, closed hoop made from bronze wire, oval in cross-section.

Size: 1.7 (diam.), 0.3 cm (w.); 0.16 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: GUIRAUD 1989, 197, Bague 8b (1st century–beginning of the 5th century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 33–34, Type X (Dacia: 2nd century AD); HENKEL 1913, Taf. XXIV/477, 480; ISAC 1999, 768, Taf. II, Abb. 14, Typ VI (second part of the 2nd century AD).

36. Carnelian gem

Provenance: Călugăreni, *vicus* (C sector), context 39

Inv. no.: 15627

Description: Oval reddish brown gem with an engraved image of a Satyr. The Satyr walking left. He holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand and a *pedum*/*lagobolon* in his left. Traces of animal skin (*nebris*) is visible on his left foot.

Size: 1.2 × 0.9 cm (diam.), 0.2 cm (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: DEMBSKI 2005, 102–105, Kat. 508–518. (Representing Satyr in profile, stepping

/ dancing movement, right hand holding grapes, in another a *pedum*); GESZTELYI 2000, 42, kat. 32 (1st century AD); GUIRAUD 1988, 116, Pl. VIII/271. (2nd century AD); HENIG 1974, 29, cat. 172–177 (2nd century AD); PLATZ-HORSTER 1994, 205, Taf. 64/330 (carnelian, 1st century AD); HAMAT 2017, 421, Fig. 3 (Tibiscum).

37. Carnelian gem

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2002

Inv. no.: 15628

Description: Oval orange red gem with an engraved image of a standing figure with a twisted stick.

Size: 0.9 cm (l.), 0.45 cm (w.), 0.39 (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: –

38. Glass inlay

Provenance: Călugăreni, vicus (C sector), context 2003

Inv. no.: 15629

Description: Square shaped, green glass inlay, the backside is flat, the front is convex.

Size: 0.7 cm (w.), 0.19 (th.)

Literature: Unpublished

Dating: 2nd–3rd century AD

Typology: POPOVIĆ 1996, cat. 76, 79 (2nd–3rd century AD, it could have been inlay of earrings); PEROK 2012, 29, 52–53. cat. 41–43, Tip. 2.5 (2nd–3rd century AD); MILOVANOVIĆ 2004, 7, Type Vc (2nd–3rd century AD); RUSEVA-SLOKOSKA 1991, 30, cat. 47, 49, Type II, var. 2 (2nd–3rd century AD), cat. 61, 62 Group II (end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD); FACSÁDY 2009, 75, Type VI/a (3rd century AD), 76, Type IX (end of the 2nd century–3rd century AD); ring: DEPPERT-LIPPITZ 1984, Farbtaf. VI.

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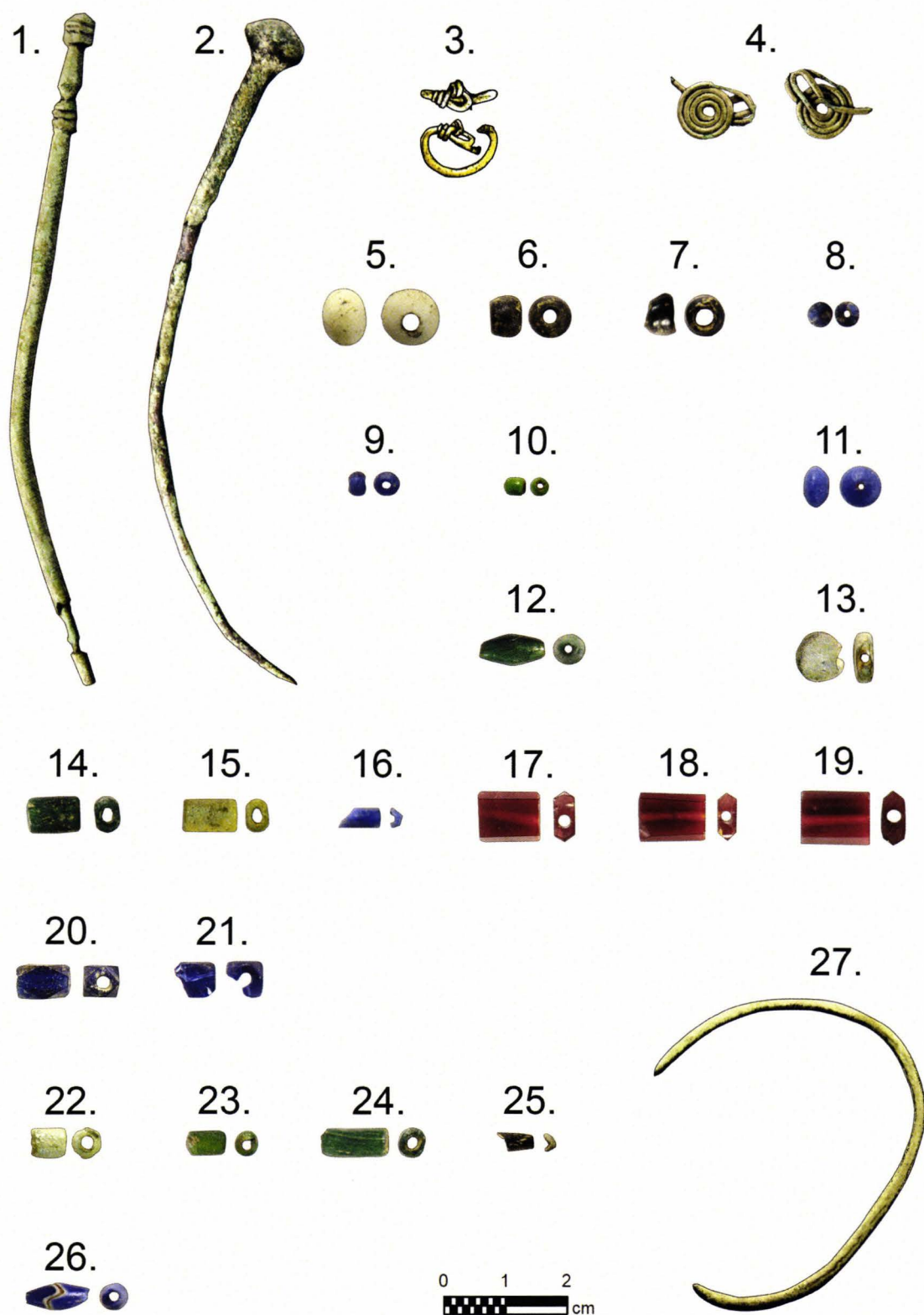
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Pl. I. The jewellery from Călugăreni (Cat.1–27)



Pl. II. The jewellery from Călugăreni (Cat. 28–38)

POSSIBLE KERNOI DISCOVERED IN THE PRINCIPIA FROM CĂLUGĂRENI / MIKHÁZA

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During the excavations of the principia from the Roman auxiliary fort in Călugăreni, fragments from two hand-formed shallow pottery objects were discovered, which do not fit in the forms repertoire of the local ceramic vessels. One of the artefacts has oval form and quite rare cogwheel decoration in the inner side, the other is almost rectangular. The two artefacts turned out to be kernoi, which are found mainly as grave goods in Central Balkan environment. The presence of these kernoi shed light on a new aspect of the spiritual life on the eastern limes of Roman Dacia. Even though it is clearly an object related to personal religious practice and may be linked to the sphere of 'baggage archaeology'; it is still a close link between Călugăreni and the provinces of Moesia and Thracia.

Keywords: Eastern limes, Roman Dacia, principia, cultic vessel, kernos.

Cuvinte cheie: Limesul estic, Dacia romană, principia, vase cultice, kernos.

Călugăreni / Mikháza in Mureş / Maros County, Romania is one of the major Roman military sites from Eastern Transylvania and it is located in the south-western part of the modern village next to the road leading towards the village of Dămieni / Deményháza. The site stretches on the left bank of the Niraj / Nyárád River, relaying on the natural defence offered by the Gurghiu / Görgényi Mountains and the hills of the Subcarpații Târnavei Mici / Sóvidéki domb-ság. Alongside a chain of watchtowers and other

defensive elements situated towards East, it had the task to control the Roman border (*limes*) section around the upper Niraj Valley and the Săcădat / Szakadát Valley.

Since 2008, in the frame of different projects focusing on the research, conservation and presentation of the site, aerial archaeological, geophysical, architectural and topographical surveys, and systematic research excavation have been undertaken at the site of Călugăreni.¹

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¹ The following projects have to be mentioned:

² A collaboration between the Aerial Archaeological Archive from Pécs and the Mureş County Museum setting the framework for the "Limes Dacicus Orientalis" project, aiming a better comprehension of the Roman frontier system in the forehead of the Eastern-Carpathians.

³ The "Digitizing the Roman Limes. Sector Brâncovenești – Sărățeni" project was based at the Mureş County Museum, financed by the Romanian Ministry of Research (CNCSIS-UEFISCDI) between 2013 and 2016, and focused on non-invasive research and the digitization of the available archive data.

⁴ In the years between 2013 and 2015, an interdisciplinary team organized the "Roman Limes as a European Cultural Landscape" field school. This Erasmus Intensive Programme was coordinated by the Winckelmann Institute of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and involved lecturers and students of archaeology, geophysics, architecture and



Fig. 1. The excavations at the auxiliary fort from Călugăreni / Mikháza (Made by Nándor Laczkó and Szilámér-Péter Pánczél)

The area of the auxiliary fort of the *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittaria* is known as *Vár / Cetate* (Castle), *Vár-tartomány* (Castle district), *Tündér Ilona vára* (Tündér Ilona's castle) and *Óvár* (Old castle).²

Since 2013, in the frame of an international cooperation, excavations have been carried out in the headquarters building (*principia*) of the auxiliary fort (Area A). The archaeological

excavations followed a strategy determined by two important aspects: the detailed registration of the planimetry of the different phases and the interpretation of the recovered archaeological material to clarify the functionality of the different rooms.³

Based on the seven excavation campaigns (Area A on Fig. 1), as a general observation we can testify that the building was severely

restoration from the following institutions: Universität zu Köln, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai from Cluj-Napoca, Műszaki- és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem and Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem from Budapest, Fachhochschule Erfurt, and Universitatea Petru Maior from Târgu Mureş. Since 2016, the Mureş County Museum, the Chair of the Roman Provinces at the Archaeological Institute of the Universität zu Köln, the Erasmus Fund of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and the Romanian Ministry of Culture have financed the research excavations.

⁴ Since 2012, the Mureş County Museum hosts the "Roman Limes Route" project financed by the Administration of the National Cultural Fund from Romania (AFCN) and the Mureş County Council with the aim to preserve and present the sites belonging to this *limes* sector.

² For the research history of the site see mainly: PAULOVICS 1944, 32–34; PROTASE 1965; GUDEA 1997, 556; LAZĂR 1995, 122–124; POPA ET AL. 2010, 107–108; PÁNCZÉL 2015, 910; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018, 13–14.

³ For preliminary reports see mainly: MAN ET AL. 2014; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2014; MAN ET AL. 2015; 2016; DOBOS ET AL. 2017; MAN ET AL. 2017; BITAY ET AL. 2018; PÁNCZÉL 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; PÁNCZÉL ET AL. 2018; PÁNCZÉL-LUKÁCSI 2019; PÁNCZÉL-SIDÓ 2019; SIDÓ-PÁNCZÉL 2019; MAN ET AL. 2019; BITAY ET AL. 2020; SZILÁGYI ET AL. 2020.

damaged by modern interventions ranging from robbing activities to contemporary agriculture. For this reasons most of the layers related to the last Roman phases of habitation are just partially preserved and could only be documented up to a certain extent. Most of the documented demolition layers represent re-depositions of the initial contexts during modern times.

Regarding the building as a whole, the excavations revealed the existence of two major phases: an earlier timber one, identified for the moment in the north-western part of the structure and a later stone phase. The precise chronology of the two phases cannot be established with certainty, but the destruction of the wooden *principia* can be roughly dated to the second part of the 2nd century.⁴ Regarding the construction of the building during the stone phase, two main techniques were used. The foundations of the exterior wall of the *principia* together with the shrine of the standards (*aedes*), back offices, and *basilica* were built from masonry made of volcanic stones, river cobbles and mortar, in the *opus incertum* technique, while the part surrounding the courtyard, consisted of a cobble foundation bound with clay. As far as the elevation concerns, in both cases we have to think rather on timber-adobe and mudbrick walls. As a general observation, it can be stated, that all of the areas investigated so far and belonging to the stone *principia* were destroyed by fire during the second part of the 3rd century.⁵

As mentioned above, the intense modern activities from the site did not allow a proper preservation of the late phases. However, with a certain degree of caution, the archaeological material from the contexts related to the

dismantling or destruction of the *principia* can be related to the latest phase of use.⁶ Such is the case of the two pottery artefacts discussed in the present paper: object A (small find numbers 436 and 10253)⁷ and object B (small find number 10690).⁸

Artefact A is a hand-formed, oval object, made of coarse fabric (Fig. 2/left; Fig. 3/A). The quality of the burning is not too good, the inner layer of the matrix is reduced, and the outer side is oxidized. In the inner side of the small plate-like vessel, traces of red-brownish engobe are visible. On the upper side of the rim a row of incised lines is running, while in the inner part, cogwheel, respectively nail-profile decoration is present. The cogwheel decoration forms nine almost straight lines in the middle, closed by one line running around. One corner of the vessel is missing. In the inner side are visible traces of burning which testifies a constant or frequent use.

Artefact B is also hand-formed, it is made of coarse fabric and the burning is oxidized. (Fig. 2/right; Fig. 3/A). It has a rectangular shape with rounded corners. In one corner, a small cup-like protrusion is visible, which was probably present on all corners. There are very scarce signs of use on the inner side.

Such strange form, decoration and fabric raises the question of functionality, especially if it is discovered in the *principia* of an auxiliary fort.

Analogies for such vessels can be found in the eastern part of *Moesia superior*, in the western part of *Moesia inferior*, and *Thracia*, so mostly in the Central Balkans. The prototypes of these vessels have usually rectangular shape, some of them with rounded corner, but circular

⁴ SIDÓ-PÁNCZÉL 2019, 476; PÁNCZÉL-SIDÓ 2019, 31.

⁵ The latest coins discovered during the excavation were minted during the reign of Philippus Arabus and the latest datable other small finds are from the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century.

⁶ Silvia Mustață and Alpar Dobos have been the area supervisors in the *principia* between 2013 and 2016 and Dorottya Nyulas was the trench supervisor in trench A4. We are grateful for their contribution and the great results.

⁷ It was recovered from the robbing trench (fill numbers 34 = 159, cut numbers 16 = 131) of the northern precinct wall of the *principia* excavated in trench A in 2013 and 2015. Dimensions of the object composed of two joining fragments: length 12.1 cm; width 9.55 cm; height 3.1 cm; thickness of the wall 0.7 cm; thickness of the base 0.9 cm.

⁸ It was recovered from the robbing trench (fill numbers Cx 259 = 262 = 264 = 269 = 282 = 375, cut numbers 270 = 293 = 376) of the southern precinct wall of the *principia* excavated in trench A4 in 2016. Dimensions of the object composed of two joining fragments: length 13.1 cm; width 12.8 cm; height 3.5 cm; thickness of the wall 1.2 cm; thickness of the base 1.7 cm.



Fig. 2. Photo of the *kernoï* (Photo by Szilamér-Péter Pánczél)

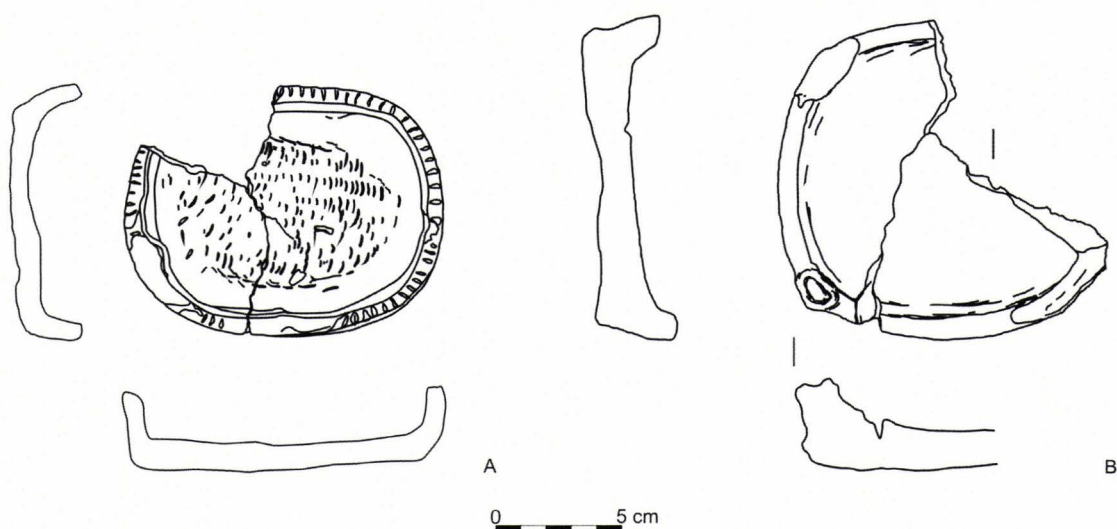


Fig. 3. Drawings of the *kernoï* (Drawings by Katalin Sidó)

ones also occur. On the corners, in some cases appear small cup-like recipients. According to these, the vessels are considered to be *kernoï*, which follow La Tène traditions.⁹ Most of the vessels, with very few exceptions, like the ones

from the *villa* of Pernik in Králev Dol¹⁰ or the one discovered in a waste pit, next to a pottery kiln in Viminacium,¹¹ were discovered in cemeteries as grave goods. Bulatovič collected these vessels from 16 sites (Table 1/1–16).¹² Sultov

⁹ The origin of the *kernoï* is considered of La Tène tradition. Rectangular altars were discovered in the thracian city of Seuthopolis (Kazanlak, Bulgaria) from 4th–3rd century BC, which are considered to be prototypes, but also the eleusian cult vessels are associated with the development of this form (CÍCIKOVÁ 1984, 49–51; NAJĐENOVA 1991, 287). Bulatovič links the origin of the vessels to thracian tradition as well (BULATOVIČ 2006, 212–214). There is without doubt similarity between the *kernoï* and altars of the Iron Age, and the ones discovered in cemeteries and few other environments from the 2nd–4th centuries AD, but there is no answer to the lack of these objects during several hundred years between the two intervals.

¹⁰ BULATOVIČ 2006, 207, Pl. 2/15; BULATOVIČ 2015, 49.

¹¹ BULATOVIČ 2015, 49.

¹² BULATOVIČ 2006; 2015.

published one *kernos* from the necropolis at Butovo, and mentions one from Hotnica (Table 1/21–22).¹³ A high quality *kernos* was discovered in Pautalia, which is a lead-glazed rectangular object, with four corner cups. In the middle of the vessel there is a Fortuna / Tyche representation. The inner side and the rim of the vessel was decorated with cogwheel decoration as well (Table 1/20).¹⁴ Other examples were published by Najdenova (Table 1/12, 15),¹⁵ three by Torbatov (Table 1/17),¹⁶ one by Dimitrova from Dragoman (Table 1/18).¹⁷ The only vessel with such decoration from a province located north of the Danube, is the one discovered in the cemetery of Sucidava and dated to the 4th century (Table 1/19).¹⁸

The dating of the cemeteries and sites, and implicit the *kernoi* begins in the middle of the 2nd century, and very few last until the second half of the 4th century (Table 1).

These vessels present different forms, from rectangular to oval and circular, and the cup-like vessels are also missing in some cases. Bulatović separates the vessels in three groups: (a) with one cup or container in the inner side, (b) with small cups on the corner, or corners, and (c) the ones without cup.¹⁹ The only element which is constant, and which probably had a basic meaning in case of the initial vessels, is the cogwheel decoration. The decoration resembles grain seeds, so it may be very well connected to fecundity as well. The only representation, of Fortuna / Tyche on the vessel from Pautalia also can point into this direction.²⁰

Between the analogies there are three which resemble to the *kernos* A from Călugăreni. The first one is from Donja Ljubata–*Stojkovanijva*, dated from the first third of 3rd to the middle of 4th century. It was discovered in a cremation grave, and after the description, the fabric and the size is quite similar.²¹ The other close analogy was discovered in Kočani–*Kasarski Krug* site in one of the cremation burials. The cogwheel decoration in this case does not follow a structure, but the form is very similar. The site was dated from the middle of the 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century.²² The third vessel is from Otošnica–*Mogila*, dated from the middle of the 2nd century until the end of the 3rd century.²³ All three sites have a wider dating, which offers a larger period of time also for the *kernos* from Călugăreni, beginning from the second half of the 2nd until the third quarter of the 3rd century. It has to be underlined, that one quarter of the vessel is missing, so there might have been a cup-like vessel in one corner, but for this form, taking in consideration the analogies, it is not common. The *kernoi* type similar to object A defined mostly by the decoration, can be considered a distinct group of cult vessels.

The closest analogy for *kernos* B, except it's decoration, is the one from the *villa rustica* from Pernik–*Kralevo Dol*, dated to the 2nd half of the 3rd–2nd half of the 4th century.²⁴

Even if both of the *kernoi* from Călugăreni were discovered only fragmentary and coming from a layers related to the disuse of the building, we have to link them to the cultic activities

¹³ SULTOV 1985, 87, Pl. 44/7.

¹⁴ КАБАКЧИЕВА 2018, 584–585.

¹⁵ NAJDENOVA 1991, 185–293.

¹⁶ Торбатов 2012, Fig. 13/5–6, Fig. 14/7.

¹⁷ ДИМИТРОВА 2015, 49, фотос11.

¹⁸ POPILIAN–BONDORC 2012, 68, 224, 299, Pl. 168/2.

¹⁹ BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.

²⁰ After Kabakchieva, in the pottery workshop from Pautalia were produced a large range of different vessels with sepulchral function (КАБАКЧИЕВА 2018, 584). Bulatović, in the discussion about the functionality and origin of the vessels notes, that in earlier times these might have been used as containers for different seeds, such as poppy, sage, wheat (BULATOVIĆ 2015, 39).

²¹ BULATOVIĆ 2006, 202–204, Plate 1/8.

²² BULATOVIĆ 2006, 206, Pl. II/14; Атанасова 2005, 216, Сл. 1.

²³ BULATOVIĆ 2015, 37.

²⁴ BULATOVIĆ 2006, 207, Pl. II/16; Атанасова 2005, 216, Сл. 2.

Nr.	Site	Vess. no.	Dating	Bibliography
1	Mala Lukanja– <i>Ljubavica</i> (Southeast Serbia)	2	3 rd quarter of 2 nd –3 rd quarter of 3 rd century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 202, Pl. 4/32–33; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
2	Mala Lukanja– <i>Kamik</i> (Southeast Serbia)	3	2 nd half of 3 rd –2 nd half of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 201–202 Pl. 4/34–36; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
3	Mala Kopašnica– <i>Kamenitica</i> (Southeast Serbia)	1	middle of 2 nd –beginning of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 202, Pl. 2/18; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
4	Donja Ljubata– <i>Stojkovanijva</i> (Southeast Serbia)	1	first third of 3 rd –middle of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 202–204, Pl. 1/8; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
5	Sebrat– <i>Selište</i> (Southeast Serbia)	2	beginning to the middle of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 204–205, Pl. 4/30–31; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
6	Ljanik– <i>Stare Kolibe</i> (Southeast Serbia)	2	middle of 2 nd –end of 3 rd century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 204, Pl. 4/28–29; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
7	Svinjište– <i>D'lgenjive</i> , Preševo (Southeast Serbia)	1	no data	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 205; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
8	Svinjište– <i>Reka</i> , Preševo (Southeast Serbia)	1	no data	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 205, Pl. 1/7.
9	Otošnica– <i>Mogila</i> (Northeast Macedonia)	more than 1	middle of 2 nd –end of 3 rd century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 205–206; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
10	Kočani– <i>Kasarski Krug</i> (Northeast Macedonia)	2	middle of 2 nd –beginning of 4 th century	АТАНАСОВА 2005, 216, Сл. 1–2; BULATOVIĆ 2006, 206, Pl. 1/5, 3/25, 2/14, 16; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
11	Drašhan– <i>Kresta</i> (West Bulgaria)	more than 1	last 3 rd of 2 nd –middle of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 206–207.
12	Pernik– <i>Kralev Dol</i> (Northeast Macedonia)	1	2 nd half of 3 rd –2 nd half of 4 th century	NAJĐENOVA 1991, 293, Fig. 3; BULATOVIĆ 2006, 207, Pl. 2/15; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
13	Popovjane– <i>Samokovsko</i> (Northeast Macedonia)	more than 1	2 nd half of 3 rd –2 nd half of 4 th century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 207; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
14	Smoljan– <i>Gela</i> (Northeast Macedonia)	1	middle of 2 nd –3 rd quarter of 3 rd century	BULATOVIĆ 2006, 207–208, Pl. 2/17; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
15	Kyustendil– <i>Hisarlik</i> (West Bulgaria)	1	no data	NAJĐENOVA 1991, 294, Fig. 5; BULATOVIĆ 2006, 207; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
16	Viminacium– <i>Zanatska centar</i> (Serbia)	1	first quarter of 2 nd –3 rd quarter of 3 rd century	RAIČKOVIĆ 2007, 33, Tl. 9/93; BULATOVIĆ 2015, 34.
17	Gorsko Aplanovo (Bulgaria)	3	2 nd half of 2 nd century	Торбатов 2012, 297, Обр.13/5–6, Обр.14/7.
18	Dragoman (Bulgaria)	1	2 nd –3 rd century	Димитрова 2015, 49, фотос 11.
19	Sucidava / <i>Celei–Corabia</i> (Romania)	1	4 th century	POPILIAN–BONDOC 2012, 68, 224, 299, Pl. 168/2.
20	Pautalia / Rila (Bulgaria)	1	3 rd century	КАВАКЧИЕВА 2018, 584–585.
21	Butovo (Bulgaria)	1	2 nd –3 rd century	SULTOV 1985, 87.
22	Hotnica (Bulgaria)	1	2 nd –3 rd century	SULTOV 1985, 87.

Table 1. Rectangular and circular *keranoi*

in the latest phase of the building, so the end of the 2nd–3rd quarter of the 3rd century. This late dating is confirmed by the dating of the aforementioned analogies and their archaeological context.

There is no doubt, that most of the vessels can be linked to sepulchral activities, although it seems that during time, some of these forms were simplified, for instance the small cup/cups disappear, but their function does not change. The presence of a thick burnt layer on the interior of the *kernos* A is a strong argument that it was used for burning possible offerings inside it. In the case of the *kernos* B, the cup-like protrusion is not functional, since it is very small, but follows the original idea even if only light burning marks are visible on the surface. The possibility, that they were used in the area of the *basilica* or even at the *aedes* of the *principia* is testified by their place of discovery and relieves us from any speculation related to their funeral role.

Similar vessels are to be found in the Sarmatian *Barbaricum*²⁵ and the area belonging to the Przeworsk culture, however most of them seem very distant analogies, only two are showing similar features to the ones from Călugăreni and Moesia.²⁶ Because of their rarity, these two have to be considered rather imports than local products.

If we have to explain the presence of these peculiar artefacts in Călugăreni, is that it might be connected to an individual, originating or servicing beforehand in the Central Balkan area. Due to the high mobility of the officers in the Roman army, it is possible that these vessels were brought by one of them as part of their cultic practices or as a personal token related to the sphere of 'baggage archaeology'.²⁷ The fact that these vessels appear on the eastern *limes* of Roman Dacia, shows a direct link to the provinces south of the Danube, since most of the analogies are from the provinces of Moesia and Thracia.

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²⁵ ISTVÁNOVITS–PINTYE 2011, 83–111; VADAY–MEDGYESI 1993, 63–89.

²⁶ Soós 2017, 45, 2. tábla/4; Soós 2019, 392, Fig. 10/12.

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THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANDRÁS LUGOSI FODOR TO THE RESEARCH OF ROMAN DACIA¹

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The number of studies dedicated to the history of archaeology and to the achievements of early researchers has been increasing in recent years, presenting the accomplishments of some lesser known scholars as well. András Lugosi Fodor was the medical superintendent of Hunedoara (Hu: Hunyad) county in the first half of the 19th century, and besides publishing important papers pertaining to medicine, he was also an avid researcher of Dacian and Roman antiquities. Some of his discoveries were published in periodicals, but there's still a vast majority of his body of work that remains only as a manuscript. Although his discoveries and transcripts serve as an important source, he and his achievements are relatively unknown to today's researchers. Despite the presence of recent papers discussing some of his contributions,² there's yet to be any publication that compiles András Fodor's biographic data together with his body of work. The purpose of this paper is to shed light onto his little-known life and contributions.

Keywords: research history, 19th century archaeology, manuscripts, Transylvania, Roman Dacia

Cuvinte cheie: istoricul cercetării, arheologia din secolul al XIX-lea, manuscrise, Transylvania, Dacia romană

András Lugosi Fodor was born in 1780/1781,³ though the exact place of his birth is unknown, it could be presumed, that his family originates from Lugoj (Hu: Lugos). He marries Barbara Kreiner at an unknown date, and has two daughters from this marriage: Aloisia (born

1809)⁴ and Amália (born 1814).⁵ He also had a son, József, whom he mentions in a letter⁶ to József Kemény, but aside from the fact that he was an emissary of Hațeg (Hu: Hátszeg) in 1842,⁷ we only know that he died before 1859,⁸ without children. Fodor's son in law⁹ was

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² PEȚAN 2013; NEMETI 2016; PEȚAN 2017.

³ In a letter to János Kemény, he mentions that he's 70 years old in March of 1851, and 73 in April of 1853. (FERENCZI 1914, 58–59).

⁴ MNL 1809.

⁵ MNL 1814.

⁶ FERENCZI 1914, 37.

⁷ HU BFL XIV.7.

⁸ In Lugosi Fodor András' obituary, his daughter Aloisia mentions that she is the last living descendant of the Fodor family from Lugos.

⁹ Unfortunately, the name of the daughter whom Spányik married is unknown. However, the identity of Aloisia's husband is known, thus it can be speculated that the daughter in question is Amália. It's also plausible that Fodor had a third, as of yet unknown, daughter as well.

József Spányik, fellow medic and antiquarian.¹⁰

Fodor becomes chief medic of Solnoc-Dăbâca (Hu: Szolnok-Doboka) county in 1810, a position he'll be holding until 1814.¹¹ Later he becomes the magistrate of Dobâca (Hu: Doboka) and Hunedoara (Hu: Hunyad) county, Scaunul Ciuc (Hu: Csíkszék), Scaunul Giurgeu (Hu: Gyergyószék) and Scaunul Cașin (Hu: Kászsónszék), while also being the chief medic in Hunedoara county from 1817.¹² During his tenure, he made several journeys throughout the county, visiting ancient sites, consulting with fellow antiquarians and expanding his collection of antiques. His assortment of ancient coins and other objects was well known in the county.¹³ There are very few mentions about the exact contents, which makes its reconstruction really difficult. It is known, that the life-sized head of a white marble statue was in Fodor's property in 1847.¹⁴ The Roman statue was found at the Cernei Valley (Hu: Cserna-völgy), and went missing by the end of the 19th century. Some inscriptions from count László Gyulay's estate, originally discovered at Micia / Vețel (Hu: Vecel), also entered into Fodor's possession. József Spányik, his son-in-law, inherits these items after Fodor's death in 1859, later these are partially donated to the Deva (Hu: Déva) museum.¹⁵

During his time as Hunyad county's chief medic, he publishes a manual for obstetricians, called *Szülést segítő tudomány és mesterség* in 1817.¹⁶ The two volume work was the second of its kind ever to be published in Hungarian.¹⁷ The volumes detailed the history of midwifery and obstetrics, the observations Fodor made

during his practice, but cites the works of his predecessors and contemporaries. What's also notable about this publication is its 40 pages long bibliography pertaining to obstetrics, a feat that would be repeated only in the 20th century in Hungary.

In 1828 he writes a letter to István Horváth, Hungarian historian and linguist, in which he asks for his help with deciphering an inscription he found on a building.¹⁸ Fodor showed it to many people of different nationalities, but none of them could recognize its language, and he hoped that Horváth, who had an extensive number of contacts, could help him. The copy of this inscription can still be found in the archives of the Hungarian National Museum, but it's yet to be translated.

Having an interest in balneology, Fodor decided to visit Mehădia (Hu: Mehădia) in 1843. He describes his experiences in *Mehădia vagy a Hercules-fürdők és utazás Hunyadmegyén keresztül a mehădiai fürdőkre, onnan Drenkóvára*.¹⁹ In this travel diary, he includes information about the ancient and more recent history of the region. He recounts the story of how Dacia was conquered by the Romans, but also gives reports about what happened to some monuments in recent history. Fodor translates from German to Hungarian the book of Schwarzott²⁰ about the various baths of this region, including it in his own work.²¹ Sometime in 1844, Fodor leads an excavation at Grădiștea Muncelului (Hu: Gredistye). Here he finds the remnants of a so called bathhouse, of which only one wall fragment was still standing during his visit in 1847.²²

¹⁰ KUUN 1893, 9.

¹¹ KÁDÁR 1905, 318.

¹² FODOR 1844a, IV; FODOR II, 2.

¹³ BALLUN 1908a, 66.

¹⁴ KUUN 1899, 110–116.

¹⁵ BALLUN 1908a, 66.

¹⁶ FODOR 1817.

¹⁷ SZÁLLASI 1978, 1117.

¹⁸ FERENCZI 1914, 23.

¹⁹ FODOR 1844a.

²⁰ SCHWARZOTT 1831.

²¹ FODOR 1844a, VIII–IX.

²² FODOR 1847a, 363.

Between the 2nd and the 6th of September in 1844, the Society of Hungarian Physicians and Nature Explorers (*Magyar Orvosok és Természetvizsgálók Társasága*, hereafter MOT) held its annual assembly in Cluj-Napoca (Hu: Kolozsvár). They held for the first time the so-called “Physic, geographic, astronomical and ethnographic-archaeological session”.²³ Fodor András is also a participant and gives a lecture pertaining to archaeology for the first time in the assembly’s history. He talks about the “city of Zsigmó or Zeugma”,²⁴ the antiquities of Deva, about “a recently perished village called Gredistye which is now a forest and where he discovered buildings and other finds”.²⁵ His lecture also contained information about the relics of Hațeg and Călanu Mic (Hu: Kalánfalu), and on the “monuments of Várhely, also known as Sarmizegethusa”. Fodor also proposed the founding of an archaeological society. While the full text of his presentation remained unpublished, the editor of *Hon és Külföld* did make a report on it, based on Fodor’s manuscript. Here it is stated, that Fodor brought some artefacts to the assembly, which he donated to the soon to be founded Transylvanian Museum.²⁶

This same year he publishes *Gyűjteménye némely marosnémeti és veczeli határon kiásott római sír- és emlékköveknek*, dedicated to the MOT’s congress.²⁷ The 19 fragments of inscriptions and architectural elements were kept at count Lajos Gyulay’s estate from Mintia (Hu: Marosnémeti). These finds were discovered mostly by farmers on their fields from Vețel and Mintia, and were taken to the count’s manor later. According to Fodor, there were more than 19 such pieces there, but he considered only this much worthy to be documented. Besides the

detailed descriptions of these finds, the booklet also has high quality drawings, made by Vilmos Stetter, an architect from Deva.

In 1845 he writes an article for a conservative newspaper published in Cluj-Napoca. His paper, entitled *A váraljai hegytetőn álló rom régisége*, described the ruins of a tower, situated on top of a cliff near Subcetate (Hu: Hátszegvár-alja). He states that the structure has a hexagonal plan, and based on the floor and roof tiles he found there, it was built by either Dacians or Romans.²⁸ Fodor also remarks that it was probably used as a watchtower, since its location makes it possible to have visual contact with the surrounding mountains, and even with the Deva castle. Due to the archaeological researches of 1937, it became clear that the ruins belonged to a medieval fortification.²⁹

Fodor embarks on a hiking trip across Hunedoara county in 1847, accompanied by ca. 17 other scholars.³⁰ Notable members of his entourage were Johann Michael Ackner and Johannes Ferdinand Neigebaur. Fodor mentions that he wanted to recruit count László Nopcsa into their group in order to conduct the archaeological researches, but the latter refused, stating that he’ll do them by himself.³¹ During their several days long trek, they visited many sites that were presumed to be Dacian or Roman. They also start a small excavation at Grădișteța Muncelului, and discover several inscriptions, metal objects and stone structures.³² Through their two day long halt here, they also take measurements of the fortifications. Fodor recounts their journey in *Hon és Külföld*, under the title *Utazás nemes Hunyadvármegyében régiségek kinyomozása végett*.

Fodor left behind several versions of a manuscript about the ancient vestiges of

²³ CS. PLANK–CSENGEL 1996, 26.

²⁴ Not to be confused with the ancient city of the same name, located in modern Turkey. Fodor here actually talks about a Dacian fortress presumably called Zeugma, located in Cigmău (Hu: Csigmó).

²⁵ MOTV V, 67.

²⁶ HK 1844, 302.

²⁷ FODOR 1844b.

²⁸ FODOR 1845

²⁹ LUCA 2005, 148.

³⁰ FODOR 1847b, 347.

³¹ FERENCZI 1914, 43–44.

³² FODOR 1847a, 362.

Transylvania. Some of these were donated to the Transylvanian Museum Society by his daughter, Aloisia in 1860.³³ Today the documents can be found in the collections of the University Library from Cluj-Napoca. Neither version was published during Fodor's lifetime, only a shortened posthumous volume.³⁴ The title of these manuscripts that were given by Fodor were quite long-winded, but a shorter version also exists: *Panoráma*, used also in the present paper. Thanks to surviving parts of his correspondence with József Kemény, some phases of the evolution of these manuscripts can be reconstructed.

He sends a version of his work, together with a letter to Kemény in November of 1844 with the help of Lajos Gyulai.³⁵ He asks Kemény to review the document, seeing as he has more experience in archaeology, history and heraldry. Fodor also states that he'll need the paper back as soon as possible, since he only has time to work on it during the winter. In a letter posted in March of 1845, he complains that he still didn't get his manuscript back; this letter is followed by several others with the same content throughout the years. It will take Kemény four years to send Fodor's work back, reckoning it worthy for publication. Both Kemény and János Teleki, Transylvania's then governor, suggest that he should try publishing his work in German. Fodor lists a handful of people who could translate it, but does not know any of them personally, so he requests Kemény's advice and supervision, so that the foreign language version will have good quality. Kemény recommends Antal Kurtz, his secretary and a journalist for this task, and while Fodor's letter to him still exists, we do not know if Kurtz accepted the offer.

While finding a skilled interpreter was seemingly a difficult task, persuading someone to publish his work was even harder for Fodor. He asks Kemény countless times if he would

help him with finding someone who'd publish either the Hungarian or the German version of the manuscript. Since he does not have the financial means to cover the printing costs himself, Fodor hopes that the publisher would give him an advance on it.³⁶ By his own admission, the cost would've been a whopping 2000 forints, which would amount to approximately one year's worth of an official's salary.³⁷ It seems that the main reason why it was so hard for him to find a suitable place was because of the huge number of illustrations. He submits his work to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but due to financial reasons, they didn't even examine the manuscript.³⁸ Fodor also tries to persuade the Academy of Vienna with Kemény's help to fund the costs of printing.

By 1853, at the age of 73, he becomes more and more desperate to have *Panoráma* published, even resorting to giving up on any sort of financial gain from it and printing it himself.³⁹ Sometime after '53, he meets Lajos Brúz, with whom he prepares to complete several volumes about Transylvania's antiques. Brúz writes an article in 1854, detailing their future plans about printing these under the title *Erdély régiségei és természeti ritkaságai*. It seems that this announcement wasn't received in kind by many. In his article written for another newspaper, the historian László Kőváry makes some less than favourable comments about their plans. One of his main complaints is the fact that the work of Fodor and Brúz would have almost the same title as one of his volumes, published much earlier.⁴⁰ He also observes that only a small part of Transylvania would be covered in their book, so their title is unsuitable. Not to mention that the work's proposed length is unbecoming, considering the enormity of its subject matter. These remarks would certainly contribute to the fact that neither Fodor, nor Brúz ever published the volumes.

³³ FODOR I, 111.

³⁴ FODOR-BRÚZ 1905.

³⁵ FERENCZI 1914, 24–53.

³⁶ FERENCZI 1914, 50–57.

³⁷ HORVÁTH 2003, 19.

³⁸ MAÉ 1847/X, 22.

³⁹ FERENCZI 1914, 20–59.

⁴⁰ KŐVÁRY 1854, 114.

As it was previously mentioned, there were several versions of Fodor's manuscript. Since they aren't dated, the exact chronology of their creation can only be speculated. In his letters to Kemény, Fodor talks about two distinct versions. There was certainly a first draft, which he sends to Kemény in 1844; after he gets this version back in 1848, Fodor mentions that he still has much work to do before he can consider it to be completed. He also sends a second draft in 1853 to Kemény, which he would like to publish as soon as possible.⁴¹ Volume I from the manuscripts belonging to the university library could be this one. In the foreword belonging to this volume, Fodor mentions that he's been the chief medic of Hunedoara county for 36 years, which means that at least this part was written in 1853.⁴² The dating of the third version of the manuscript, which hereafter will be called Volume III,⁴³ should be sometime after 1853, but before January of 1854.⁴⁴ Two German versions of the same Hungarian volume, volume number II, were also preserved.⁴⁵ Ferenczi theorises that the shorter one was translated first.

The drawings that would've been part of *Panoráma* also survived. There are three versions of these. Volumes number VI and VII are filled with high quality drawings, made by several people.⁴⁶ Ferenczi thinks that these two accompanied the German manuscripts.⁴⁷ This theory is plausible, but the numbering of the drawings from vol. VI matches the references from vol. I of the manuscript. However, most of these numberings were crossed out and rewritten, so the only way to identify the objects from the drawings, is by reading the descriptions in the drafts. Vol. VIII⁴⁸ is a collection of sketches, most probably made by Fodor, though Ferenczi notes that some were made by Neugebauer.

Volumes I and II were clearly not ready for publishing, since there are many words that were crossed out, and also several supplementary annotations written on the margins. Even Fodor admits that, also stating that during the revolution of '48 and after that, he didn't have enough time to properly work on it.⁴⁹ Both version starts with an introductory part, where Fodor summarizes the importance of archaeology and of the collection of antiques, mentions the '44 assembly of the MOT, details some of his travels inside Hunedoara county, and he lists the sites from where Roman finds originate. This part is followed by the brief history of how Dacia was conquered by the Romans and subsequently became a province. In the first part of both versions of *Panoráma*, he presents in alphabetical order and in detail those settlements, where he found vestiges in Hunedoara county. The second part presents the antiquities of Alba (Hu: Alsó Fehér) county, briefly summarizing the contributions of fellow antiquarians from Transylvania. In the third part he talks about those relics that can be found in the rest of Transylvania, but also about those from Moldova and Wallachia belonging to the Roman era.

The inscriptions included in *Panoráma* were often copied erroneously, while their completed transcriptions are frequently crossed out. Fodor admits in the introduction that he's not a very qualified person in epigraphy, and even apologizes if what he writes is inaccurate. Árpád Buday underlined his lack of expertise in his subsequent work about Roman epigraphy.⁵⁰ Despite these errors, *Panoráma* oftentimes serves as primary source about several Roman inscriptions.

Volume III is a print-ready version, which while it never got published during Fodor's

⁴¹ KÖVÁRY 1854, 59.

⁴² FODOR I, 3.

⁴³ FODOR III.

⁴⁴ FERENCZI 1914, 20–21.

⁴⁵ FODOR VI, FODOR VII.

⁴⁶ FODOR IV, FODOR V.

⁴⁷ FERENCZI 1914, 21.

⁴⁸ FODOR VIII.

⁴⁹ FERENCZI 1914, 57.

⁵⁰ BUDAY 1914, 18.

lifetime, the *Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat*⁵¹ includes in their yearbook of 1905. This was co-authored with Brúz, and was supposed to be the first part of a three volume series. The settlements presented in alphabetical order are all from Huedoara county. Deva is left out from the list, stating that it'll be discussed another time.⁵² While this version still retains some fragments from *Panoráma*, we can consider this volume a completely re-edited version of it. Besides disclosing data pertaining to Dacian and Roman remains, there are also folktales included, oftentimes in greater length and detail than anything else. This might've contributed to the not so favourable reaction that Kőváry had towards their proposed work.

For many years Fodor tried to find sponsors for a possible archaeological society in Transylvania to no avail, his plans never came to fruition during or after his life. Some members of the HTRT considered themselves to be the kind of organization that Fodor wished to establish.⁵³ However, based on his statements it is clear that he envisioned an organization that concentrated on Transylvania as a whole, and not just on a smaller region.

Fodor wasn't the only one with such kind of plans. During the opening of the MOT's annual congress in 1844, vice-chairman Ferenc Kubinyi, mentions the need for a Transylvanian Archaeological Society.⁵⁴ He believed that antiquarians from Cluj-Napoca and Pest could profit tremendously from this arrangement. After his lecture, Fodor also proposes the founding of the aforementioned society, József Kemény also supporting this. He sends a detailed proposal to Kemény in 1844, in which he states that the purpose of this society would be discovering and collecting antiques.⁵⁵ These items would then be donated to the Transylvanian Museum. Besides presenting the society's general framework, he also suggests that each location with either Dacian

or Roman heritage should have a commissioner, which would conduct researches; the result of these discoveries would be published in a yearbook.

In his manifesto from 1845, he urges everyone to start looking for sponsors, now that the National Assembly has gathered in Cluj-Napoca, making it easier to gain the support of influential people.⁵⁶ Fodor asks József Kemény to talk to Transylvania's governor about the Society, in hopes of maybe getting some kind of state funding for it. Furthermore, he hopes that Kemény himself could help with finding sponsors. Regardless of the effort of many, the Society was never founded.

At first glance, András Lugosi Fodor's body of work pertaining to archaeology and history is very similar to that of his contemporaries. An avid supporter of archaeological heritage protection and research, he worked really hard on the founding of a society that would partake in this. However, on further inspection, it becomes clear that he makes several mistakes that sometimes underline his amateurism, and this paper does not wish to deny this fact. He often describes medieval and 16th–17th century finds when he clearly talks about Dacian and Roman remains, and also makes hasty conclusions based on insubstantial evidence. These mistakes were frequently brought up by his critiques.

Despite his many oversights, we cannot ignore his many contributions to the study of the ancient history of Transylvania. Fodor conducted archaeological researches in an era when the fundamentals of such studies have not been established yet, meaning that he didn't have concrete guidelines to fall back on. Of course, this cannot be a legitimate excuse for his lapses, since several of his contemporaries already conducted much more professional studies.

Even though Fodor's manuscripts cannot be considered as finished works, the amount

⁵¹ Historical and Archaeological Society of Hunyad County, hereafter HTRT.

⁵² FODOR-BRÚZ 1905, 143.

⁵³ BALLUN 1908b, 99.

⁵⁴ MOTV V, 22.

⁵⁵ FERENCZI 1914, 26–28.

⁵⁶ FERENCZI 1914, 33–47.

of data he provides through them is certainly descriptions and illustrations of items that are invaluable. Included in *Panoráma* are lost and are waiting to be identified.

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THE DACO-ROMAN CONTINUITY? MYTH OR FACT? ¹

Zsolt VISY*

The Daco-Roman continuity theory about the origins of the Romanian nation remains a false hypothesis because no Germanic linguistic traces from the 3rd–6th centuries can be detected in the language. The proposed solution for the origins of the Romanians is that they lived in the Balkans in the Migration Period and only in the early medieval period migrated to the north.

Keywords: province of Dacia, Daco-Roman continuity, myth – fact, linguistics, Migration Period.

Cuvinte cheie: provincia Dacia, continuitatea daco-romană, mituri – fapte, lingvistică, perioada migrației

One may be surprised to learn, that approximately two decades after the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, which even by Romanian scholars was often considered illusory,² was fatefully weakened and effaced, the fact of this denouncement did not spread in the academia, not to mention the ranks of laymen across Hungary and Romania. Yet the Romanian academic circles, mainly the younger generations accept this fact, and one may read increasingly more low-key statements in publications.³ The topic is gradually fading from the agenda of scientific research. The cause and origin of this change of view may be due to a more serious confrontation with the broader scientific community following the political revolution. It is also because no hypothetical theory may be upheld long without any irrefutable arguments.

The theory of Daco-Roman continuity, appeared from several sources and has changed multiple times throughout its history. It relies

naturally on the fact that Trajan (AD 98–117) between 101–106 defeated the Dacian Kingdom of Decebalus in two ruthless campaigns and founded the province of Dacia.⁴ The final, slightly smaller scaled outlines of the province were established by his successor, Hadrian (AD 117–138) and it was Aurelian (AD 270–275) who vacated the province in 271, which by that time was already practically lost for ca. 15 years. The theory of Daco-Roman continuity claims, that the remaining population of the province, who were primarily of Dacian origin however become latinophones, stayed in their homeland in Transylvania and formed the core of the Romanian people.

Already in the Middle Ages it was noted that the Romanians living in Transylvania spoke a language akin to Latin. For Antonio Bonfini and the humanists, it was beyond doubt, that these Romanians are remote descendants of the inhabitants of the late Dacia. The theory

¹ I would like to thank Gergő István Farkas for the English translation of the paper.

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² BOIA 2001; NICULESCU 2004–2005, 123;

³ DANA 2004, 430; RUSCU 2004; VARGA 2018; NEMETI 2019.

⁴ TÓTH 1986.

appeared in Romanian literature from the 18th century onwards and became handy in the struggles for the legitimacy over the ownership of Transylvania in the 19th century, as according to it, Romanians have inhabited Transylvania longer than the Hungarians thus have privilege over the land. The 20th century brought on a new turning point, the otherwise outstanding ancient historian Constantin Daicoviciu argued, that the forefathers of the Romanian people were not merely the latinophone population of the province, but the Dacians subjugated by the Romans.⁵ According to his theory, the Dacians were exceptionally susceptible to Roman culture and due their intensive relations, went forth on the path of Romanization even before they were conquered. As inhabitants of the province, they adopted the Latin language with marvellous speed and profoundness, and when the province was evacuated, out of consideration for their Dacian ancestors, remained *en masse* in the abandoned province. It is true that in the centuries of the Migration Period, masses of Germanic, Slavic and Avar communities dwelt in Transylvania preceding the settlement of the Hungarians, yet this left no marks upon them, as they withdrew to the mountains, where they maintained their Latin language and culture against foreign impacts. In a critical writing of his, Géza Alföldy coined the term *Romanian miracle* referring to this hypothesis of multitudes of Dacians remaining in the province after its abandonment, keeping their linguistic and cultural identity unchanged for centuries.⁶

The final conclusion is undoubtedly true, as the Romanian language was in fact unaffected by German and Avar influences and little influenced by Slavic lingo during the Migration Period, but not for the reason that the author of the hypothesis thought. The right reason is, that the forefathers of the Romanian people lived south of the Danube, mainly in the regions of today North Macedonia and Albania.⁷

Both, the conquest and the abandonment of Dacia, were unique processes done amidst special circumstances, which are thus hardly comparable with the fates of other Roman provinces. According to the historian Eutropius, in the two bloody campaigns (between AD 101–106) the province lost the majority of its male population in the fighting, thus Rome was forced to complement the population from largescale resettling from other provinces.⁸

The famous column of Trajan's forum depicts this in the last scenes of its frieze⁹. Thus, it is a question: in which proportion did Dacians remain in the new province? Views vary considerable and have been greatly influenced by the national affiliation of their author. According to the Romanian scientific standpoint, considerable Dacian masses remained in the province, primarily in rural settlements, which were backed by archaeological evidence. It is true, that barely 20% of the finds can be related to the autochthonous population, yet it is beyond question that one cannot argue in favour of a complete replacement of population. In the 1940's, the olden Hungarian debater, András Alföldi reckoned with an extant indigenous

⁵ DAICOVICIU 1970; DAICOVICIU ET AL. 1964; DAICOVICIU 1964, 53–58.

⁶ ALFÖLDY 1977, 413–417.

⁷ GYÓNI 1944; RUSSU 1995, 118–127.

⁸ „[Traianus] Daciam Decibalo victo subegit, provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victoali et Tervingi habent. Ea provincia decies centena milia passuum in circuitu tenuit... Idem de Dacia facere conatum amici [Hadrianum] deteruerunt, ne multi cives Romani barbaris traderentur, propterea quia Traianus victa Dacia ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas. Dacia enim diuturno bello Decibali viris fuerat exhausta.” / „Having defeated Decebal, [Trajan] subjugated Dacia and established the province on the far side of the Danube, where nowadays the Taifals, Victoals and Tervings are living. This province had a thousand mile long girth... [Hadrian] was dissuaded by his friends to do the same with the Dacia, not to let many Roman citizens fall victim to the Barbarians; as after the conquest of Dacia, Trajan settled a great multitude there from all around the Roman Empire to have farmers for the fields and citizens for the cities. As during the lengthy war with Decebal, Dacia lost its male population.” (EVTR. 8,2,6)

⁹ Scenes CXL-CLV (CICHORIUS 1900; LEPPER-FRERE 1988). Reliefs scene-by-scene on Trajan's Column in Rome see: www.trajans-column.org (18.02.2021).

population, however he estimated their proportion as rather low.¹⁰ In this regard, the factual lack of *civitas* organizations, which served as self-governmental establishments of native tribes and communities, compared to other provinces, is meaningful.

The low level of continuity is indicated by the minimal proportion of Dacian names amongst the onomastic material from the Dacian inscriptions.¹¹ Latin names are predominant, besides those Greek, Illyrian, Celtic and Thracian names also occur. Dacian names form a separate group within the latter and with more or less certainty; their number does not exceed four.¹² They are remarkably scarce and insufficient to prove Dacian continuity. Constantin Daicoviciu bridged this contradiction by the surmise that the Dacian population, withdrawn to rural settlements, barely put up inscriptions.¹³ But if it were really so, which is incidentally unimaginable, how would it have been possible that by the time of abandonment a Romanised, latinophone Daco-Roman population inhabited the province? How could the natives withdrawn from the Romans not only perfectly acquire the Latin language in a timeframe of ca. 150 years, but give up and completely forget their own, as there are almost no terms or expressions in present-day Romanian that originate from the Dacian language? The situation is unchanged by the known fact that during the reign of Commodus (AD 180–193) ca. 10000 free Dacians were settled in the province.

The Daco-Roman origin theory does not bear the counter-arguments of the debate related to the abandonment of the province. By the 3rd century AD, the situation on the Danube region changed. The continuous influx of Germanic tribes from the north and east caught the population living along the Roman *limes* between hammer and anvil. Turmoil erupted first in the middle of the 2nd century, during the Marcomannic-Sarmatian wars between AD 167–180, which brought desolation to the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia. Although Rome emerged victorious from the campaigns and the alliance system established due to peace agreements ensured her hegemony over the populations living along her borders, the Empire could not withstand the next blow that took place in the 240's. The dishevelled fighting full of loss and defeats lasted for decades, it crippled the Empire and only Aurelian and his heirs managed to put a halt to it and reverse this process. Reorganization did not happen without losses. In AD 260, Rome evacuated the areas of Germania and Raetia east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, around 271 Aurelian reached the decision of abandoning Dacia, which for the last 15 years has been ravaged by Germanic tribes, and resettling its rural and municipal population to the new province of *Dacia nova*, formed south of the Danube.¹⁴ From that point onwards the newly established province with Sofia as its seat separated *Moesia inferior* and *Moesia superior*.¹⁵

¹⁰ ALFÖLDI 1940, 129–180.

¹¹ KERÉNYI 1941; RUSSU 1944; RUSSU 1967, 85–105; RUSSU 1977. RUSSU 1981 was already under the influence of nationalistic ideas.

¹² DANA 2004, 447.

¹³ DAICOVICIU 1969; PROTASE 2001.

¹⁴ “Cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam videret, provinciam Transdanuvinam Daciam a Traiano constitutam sublato exercitu et provincialibus reliquit, desperans eam posse retineri, abductosque ex ea populos in Moesia conlocavit appellavitque suam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit.” / „Seeing the devastation of Moesia and Dacia, by evacuating the army and the population, he abandoned Transdanubian Dacia established by Trajan, because he did not have the confidence that he could keep it. Thus he resettled its evacuated populace in a part of Moesia, which he named his own Dacia, that separated the two Moesian provinces from each other” (HIST. AVG. Aurelian. 39,7)

¹⁵ „[Aurelianus] Provinciam Daciam, quam Traianus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermisit, vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia, desperans eam posse retinere, abductosque Romanos ex urbibus et agris Daciae in media Moesia collocavit appellavitque eam Daciam, quae nunc duas Moesias dividit et est in dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum antea fuerit in laeva.” / „Dacia province, which was formed on the far side of the Danube by Trajan, he abandoned as all of Illyricum and Moesia was devastated and he did not trust that it can be held. The Romans extracted from the cities and lands of Dacia, he settled in the middle of Moesia, which he named Dacia which now separates the two Moesian provinces on the right side of the Danube flowing into the sea, while former Dacia lay on the left banks of the river.” (EVTR. 9,15)

The debate is currently on the extent of the abandonment of the province and resettling of its inhabitants. Firstly, it should be put forth, that Dacia was not lost as many other provinces, where Roman administration and life died away gradually and the majority of the population tried the cope with the new situation by staying in place. Dacia was in its prime when it was evacuated by an Imperial order, resettled to a safe region of the Empire. In this case, as in many other, a compromise seems just between conflicting views as it corresponds best to the way of life: most of the population obviously chose safety and few have voted to try their fortunes against the uncertain and dangerous future by staying behind.

The question is, whether this uncertain sized, yet necessarily small group of latinophone provincial denizens could keep their identity during the centuries of the Migration Period or not. According to the Daco-Roman continuity theory, they did so by withdrawing to the mountain ranges and thus detaching themselves from successive waves of migrators. This however, is impossible for several reasons. Accepting this premise would lead to the absurd contradiction, that the indigenous Dacian population, who completely gave up their native language in favour of Latin which they learnt perfectly, insisted so too much to this new language, that for centuries they did not adopt any other linguistic influences.

In the late 3rd century AD the population of Transylvania was thoroughly exchanged. Vandals and Gepids occupied the lands from the north. Goths moved in from the east, and seized the Romanian Lowlands from the Sarmatian Roxolans and ruled the land for three hundred years. It is obvious that the provincial population who remained could not keep their identity under such circumstances, moreover the mountains and highlands are uninhabitable in winter, thus if they were forced down to the valley annually, contact with the new occupants of the land could not have been avoided. This

unsustainable hypothesis is also challenged by the fact, that the Romanian language does not suffer Germanic influence during this period. This fact eliminates the chance that these two populations met at all. Not only until AD 568 when the Avars overthrew the Gepidic rule, but also afterwards, as the defeated Gepids were incorporated into the populace of Transylvania.

Thus the origins of the Romanian nation and language are not to be sought in Transylvania, but in an area where they indeed did not encounter Germanic population. This area is in the Balkan, south of the Danube, and rather its western part, as in antiquity the linguistic border between Latin and Greek separated the Balkans approximately along the line connecting present-day Niš and Skopje.¹⁶ The common language east of this border was Greek, west of it, Latin. The Byzantine Empire conserved this setting, as primarily it ruled over the eastern part of the Balkans and only occasionally over the western regions. The Slavic tribes that gradually appeared from the 6th–7th centuries onwards generally labelled the latinophone former provincial population, who by that time naturally did not retain their tribal affiliation, as *Vlachs*. The Hungarian language adopted this name, thus Romanians are styled *oláh* and Italians *olasz* even today. During the Migration Period, the Germanic language had no effect on the Latin speaking population of the Balkans at all, as they did not settle there, contrary to the Slavic and Greek languages. The Romanian language accurately reflects these influences, and hence there are nations living in the Balkans even today who are native speakers of their traditional Neolatin language, partly originating from the Latin, such as Macedons and Albanians, it is without a doubt, that the Romanian nation originated and emigrated from this ethnical group. The speakers of these language understand each other even today, those who settled north of the Danube kept close contact with the southern relatives even in the 19th century.¹⁷

¹⁶ Outstanding Romanian historians and linguists of the 19th century, such as RÖSLER 1871, PHILIPPIDE 1923–1927 and partially DENSUSIANU 1901 accepted this idea.

¹⁷ DU-NAY 2004.

Comparative linguistics is concerned with the effects certain languages and linguistic groups have on each other, and although it cannot establish an absolute chronology, but it can indeed provide a relative one. Modern, verifiable linguistic research excludes the presence of the ancestors of the Romanians in Transylvania in the 3rd–6th centuries based on the complete lack of Germanic linguistic influence.¹⁸ The same linguistic analyses attest a strong Greek and Slavic influence, primarily in the ecclesiastical idiom. It is an important fact that the 17 ecclesiastical terms rooted in Latin, 15 are present in the three dialects spoken south of the Danube, and all of them occur in Arumanian and thus pertain to the oldest layer of the Romanian language.¹⁹

Consequently, the solution is obvious, but naturally, it must also be proved historically, to pass the scientific test. Fortunately, there are written sources which support it. Several Byzantine sources attest Vlah herdsmen in the 10th–11th centuries who practiced transhumance. It is prominent, that the spatial and temporal definitions of these accounts almost traces out the gradual northward migration of these tribes. In the course of the 11th century, they are attested in the area of the Bulgarian Empire, by the end of the 12th century there is data available on the presence of Vlachs in the vicinity of Făgăraș / Fogaras in the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary.²⁰

Based on the thorough analysis of archaeological and historic data, Karl Strobel announced a firm verdict on the hypothesis of Daco-Roman continuity, explaining its unsustainability.²¹ He ends his analysis by stating, that the provincial population left behind was neither

Dacian-Roman, nor Daco-Roman, because it had absolutely no relation with Dacians, apart from the possibility, that ethnically it could have contained elements of Dacian origin. His conclusion is, that this unorganized populace by no means could have withstood Germanization, Avarization or Slavization.

Thus unfolds clearly the proper development process of the Romanian people and language, which, by the way, Hungarian scientific community has been agreeing for long.²² In the last couple of decades not only internationally recognized experts, but an increasing number of Romanian scholars started accepting it. Lucian Boia stated already 20 years ago, that the hypothesis of Daco-Roman continuity was influenced by nationalistic doctrines and is no more than naïve historic fiction.²³ This standpoint was also recognized in 2011, when Fritz Mitthof and Meinolf Arens organized a colloquium with participation of professionals from numerous countries, including Romanian academics.²⁴

It is regrettable that the historic interpretation, which has been accepted by top Romanian researchers, is not yet to become rooted in common knowledge, which is being firmly influenced by politics. Dumitru Protase and Dan Gh. Theodor published a chapter on this on the pages of *Istoria românilor* in 2001, in which unfortunately they did not include the altered scientific approach of the Romanian fatherland.²⁵ It is little surprise, that Gheorghe Alexandru Niculescu, a Romanian historian living abroad, wrote a crushing review on this paper.²⁶ He stated that archaeology following national narratives is despicable and subjugating archaeology to political agenda yields failing interpretations, he concluded, that such publications are

¹⁸ SCHRAMM 1997.

¹⁹ KRAMER 1998; KRAMER 1999–2000, 149.

²⁰ GYÓNI 1944.

²¹ STROBEL 2005–2007.

²² ALFÖLDI 1940; VÉKONY 1989; TÓTH 1986; VISY 2012, 233–255.

²³ BOIA 1999.

²⁴ *Dacians and Dacianism: Sources and Discourses from Antiquity to Modern Times. International conference*, Vienna, May 13th–15th 2011. Organised by: Fritz Mitthof (University of Vienna) and Meinolf Arens (Institut für Minderheiten und Regionalismus, Munich).

²⁵ PROTASE 2001, 555–605; TEODOR 2001, 639–759.

²⁶ NICULESCU, 2004–2005, 99–124.

aimed at politicians, not scientists. Dan Dana professed a similar viewpoint, assessing that Dacians are hardly detectable in the province of Dacia.²⁷

Thus, Daco-Roman continuity is not a scientific theory, merely a hypothesis, which should permanently be transferred to the collective of historic fiction. However, the widespread propagation of this fiction for decades and its assertion as a sort of matter of faith among wide masses, who up to this day

believe that the Daco-Roman continuity is the true origin of Romanians. Transforming the image of this glorious heroic past to the much less grandiose, yet historically accurate fundamentals is by no means an easy task, yet it is our common duty. It is not enough to merely circumvent and dismiss this false theory by silence, we need to point out the fallacy and provide authentic information. This is the task of Romanian and international researchers, academics and publicists.

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MIGRATION PERIOD POTTERY MADE AFTER GERMANIC TRADITIONS AT THE CEMETERY OF BAND¹

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The Band-Vereşmort group, with its row-grave cemeteries is associated with Gepidic communities who lived under Avar rule. This paper is an attempt to present the pottery made after Germanic traditions from this cemetery, using Tivadar Vida's typology, analogies and grave inventories as a starting point to differentiate phases of the cemetery.

Keywords: Band-Vereşmort group, pottery, Germanic traditions, row-grave cemeteries, Early Avar period

Cuvinte cheie: Grupul Band-Vereşmort, ceramică, tradiție germanică, cimitire cu morminte în şiruri, Perioada avarilor timpurii

The migration period cemetery of Band (Ro: *Bandu de Câmpie*, Hu: *Mezőbánd*, G: *Bandorf*, Mureş County) was excavated in 1906–1907 and published in 1913 by István Kovács.² He excavated an area of 2950 m², and identified 187 archaeological features. Out of these 176 graves belonged to a migration period row-grave cemetery. Other sporadic settlement remains and cremation burials from the Bronze Age and La Tène period were also discovered.

All the graves belonging to the row-grave cemetery were disturbed at a certain degree. The burial rite was exclusively inhumation, the deceased were usually laid on their back in *decubitus dorsalis* and were orientated W–E, or in some cases SW–NE (small differences might exist due to the changing of the seasons).³ A rather high proportion, namely 35% of the graves contained pottery.

István Kovács linked the cemetery to the Gepids. He also noticed that those burials,

which contained horse bones, were situated at the edges of the cemetery which might indicate a later phase of use. In his opinion, these are signs of Avar influence. Horse legs and scapulas were found in graves 24, 25, 32, 44, horse legs were found in graves 124, 150, 158, 167, and horse teeth were found in graves 68, 54, 140, 154, 156, 168.⁴

Until the present the most widely adopted chronological system was elaborated by Kurt Horedt who divided the migration period Germanic cemeteries from Transylvania and their material culture into four groups. The row-grave cemeteries were included in the group III (Moreşti group) and group IV (Band-Vereşmort group). According to him between the groups III and IV, there is no chronological or ethnic link. The Moreşti group was considered by him Gepidic and was dated mainly in the first half of the 6th century, while the Band-Vereşmort group connected to a late

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² Kovács 1913, 265–429.

³ Kovács 1913, 365–369.

⁴ Kovács 1913, 387–388.

Germanic population and dated exclusively in the 7th century.⁵

Géza Bakó dated the migration period cemetery at Band between 600 and 650. He believed that this cemetery has no similarities with other earlier or contemporary cemeteries from Transylvania or from the Tisza region. In his opinion, the cemetery might be linked to the Sântana de Mures-Černiachov culture on the one hand and to the late Avar period on the other hand. Therefore, he did not assume a clear ethnic attribution but connected the cemetery to a mixed population of North-Pontic origin.⁶ According to him, the upper chronological limit of the Morești group is 600, and from this period a new type of cemetery appeared. Due to the presence of horse burials and 'Avar' / nomadic type belt-buckles, he considered that the cemetery from Band does not have clearly Germanic character.⁷

The burials with richer grave inventory are at similar distances to each other, forming a nucleus, which is often present in the cemeteries of the Avar population. In his opinion the NE wing of the cemetery includes 77 burials and no traces of Germanic material culture is present in it.⁸

In his monograph on the Gepidic discoveries from Tisza region, Srem region and Transylvania, Dezső Csallány divided the archaeological material of this period in four groups. His division was primarily based on historical events (the period before 454, 454–472, 472–568, and 568–672).⁹ In his opinion, the majority of the Gepidic cemeteries from Transylvania, including the one from Band, belong to the Avar Period.¹⁰

Horedt's aforementioned chronological system was challenged by István Bóna, who

noticed the similarities between the cemeteries from Morești, Band, Unirea–Vereșmort and proposed that the early phase of the cemetery from Band might be dated to the sixth century. Based on the horse burials situated on the edges of the cemetery, he suggested that the late phase might be dated between 600 and 630.¹¹

New modifications regarding the chronology of the row-grave cemeteries were suggested by Radu Harhoiu who reinterpreted Kurt Horedt's system. According to his chronology the first group (Morești group) corresponds to Horedt's group III, and the second group (Band–Vereșmort group) to Horedt's group IV. Regarding the latter, Harhoiu rejected the dating proposed by Horedt and placed the early phase of the group already in the second half of the 6th century.¹² Thus, he was the first Romanian researcher who questioned Horedt's ideas about the chronology on these cemeteries.

According to Alpár Dobos the chronology of Kurt Horedt is outdated, and the grave-goods coming from the late group of the row-grave cemeteries demonstrate that the use of these already started in the 6th century. He raised questions regarding the chronology of the first phase of these cemeteries and the relationship between the previous cemeteries from the Gepidic period and the new ones.¹³

According to the written sources, the row-grave cemeteries from the Transylvanian Basin could be related to the Gepids. After most researchers, the emergence of the Avar rule resulted in radical changes such as: the end of the row-grave cemeteries used during the Gepidic period, opening of new and larger cemeteries, the appearance of new objects in the material culture and the disappearance of others.¹⁴

⁵ HORED T 1977, 251–268; HORED T 1986, 26–36.

⁶ BAKÓ 1960, 22–31.

⁷ BAKÓ 1960, 22–31.

⁸ BAKÓ 1960, 40–46.

⁹ CSALLÁNY 1961, 320.

¹⁰ CSALLÁNY 1961, 313.

¹¹ BÓNA 1979, 6–19.

¹² HARHOIU 1999–2001, 127–130.

¹³ DOBOS 2013, 93–108.

¹⁴ DOBOS 2010–2011, 376–389.

POTTERY TYPOLOGY

In his monograph on the funerary pottery from the early and middle Avar period, Tivadar Vida elaborated his own typology with three main technological groups based on pottery manufacture techniques.¹⁵ His first group includes the pottery thrown on fast wheel. His second group contains the pottery made on slow wheel, while his third group incorporates the hand made vessels. Amid the first category, the first two subgroups (IA and IB) are considered of Germanic tradition. The common traits of these vessels are the following: they are made on the potter's wheel with even speed, resulting in marks on their interior, their surface is polished with organic materials (such as leather), and often are ornamented with superficial incisions or in some cases with stamped decorations. Their fabric is very fine clay with inclusions of small particles of sand. The vessels are of good quality.¹⁶

Zsuzsanna Hajnal describes this type of pottery of good quality, from relatively pure clay, including 5–10% sand of very fine granulation; the sand particle sizes usually are between 0.2 mm and 0.5 mm, and the fabric might have other inclusions, such as less than 5% lime particles (their particle sizes being between 1–2 mm). The thickness of the walls of the vessels generally varies between 4–7 mm. They are usually fired using reductant burning techniques. The finished vessels are quite hard, they can be scratched with iron.¹⁷

Using Tivadar Vida's and Zsuzsanna Hajnal's typology I managed to cluster for the vessels from Band. The first group in my classification, as in Tivadar Vida's typology is the IA group. In the case of the cemetery from Band it has three subcategories: pear-shaped vessels (Fig. 1), bi-conical vessels (Fig. 2), vessels with

stamped decoration and vessels with smoothed decoration (Fig. 3).

The pottery vessels had an important role in the funeral ceremonies and rites. The deposition of pottery next to the dead body, and the presence of vessels as offerings in the graves have religious connotations. From another perspective, the presence or the absence of these vessels in the graves might explain a hierarchy in the society, and might refer to the deceased's status inside the community.¹⁸

The vessels presented in this paper represent a significant category of the funerary pottery discovered at the cemetery of Band. Both from technological and formal view the origins of the categories described above, can be traced back to the period preceding the Avar Age. According to Margit Nagy, the Gepids started using the wheel-thrown grey pottery with reductant burning at the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries. The Gepidic pottery from the 5th century had been influenced by the Sântana de Mures-Černiachov culture (cannelures on vessels, splayed rim, and superficial incisions). According to her, only the ornamental pottery was decorated with different motifs or punched/stamped decoration. Both the bi-conical and pear-shaped vessels were typical for the Gepidic period.¹⁹ Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive study regarding the pottery typology from the Gepidic period. In any case, the bi-conical cups are the dominant form in several cemeteries from the Tisza region.²⁰ The early specimens of the pear-shaped vessels can be found in Pannonia in the Langobard period, as well as in the Tisza region and Transylvania in the Gepidic period. The latter appeared already at the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries.²¹ During the early Avar age, the pear-shaped vessels are typical for Transdanubia and Transylvania and

¹⁵ VIDA 1999, 33–174.

¹⁶ VIDA 1999, 33–35.

¹⁷ HAJNAL 2006, 188.

¹⁸ COSMA 2011, 126–129.

¹⁹ NAGY 1999, 37–38.

²⁰ Up to the present, the most thorough typology is for the cemetery from Hódmezővásárhely-Kishomok (BÓNA–NAGY 2002, 134, Abb. 65–66).

²¹ TÓTH 2006, 89.

belong to those categories which can be traced back on Germanic traditions (Vida types IA and IB).²²

Similarly, in the early Avar period the stamped decoration is typical for Transdanubia and Transylvania.²³ It is a generally accepted opinion that it has local origins, rooted in the pottery from the Gepidic/Langobard period.²⁴ Attila Kiss distinguished two main groups in the Germanic material culture during the Avar period. The vessels of the first group have punched decoration by rectangular, rounded, oval, rhombic and trapezoid stamps resulting nets, grids, and striate patterns.²⁵ According to Zsuzsanna Hajnal's typology the stamped vessels from Band have the decoration 1b. The variations of the stamps used on these vessels are so diverse that they must have been made out of cheap materials. Their absence in the archaeological record could indicate that they were made out of organic materials, as for the first group (with the above mentioned vessel from Band) could be made out of wood.²⁶ The closest analogy for the stamp pattern for the vessel from grave 167 was discovered at Kölked-*Feketekapu*, grave 191.²⁷ Regarding the smoothed decoration, it can be traced back to the pottery production traditions of the Gepidic period as well. At the present state of the research, it seems that this decoration technique survived more prominently in Transylvania than in the other regions of the Carpathian Basin.²⁸

Radu Harhoiu dated the pottery made after Germanic traditions between 500 and 560.²⁹ The vessels from graves 63 and 116 from

Band show similarities with the vessels found at Gyula-*Kálvária dűlő* and Szőreg-*A Cemetery*).³⁰ The best analogies for the vessels discussed in this paper are known from the contemporary row-grave cemeteries from Transylvania. A vessel decorated with smoothed decoration was discovered in the cemetery at Unirea-*Vereşmort*.³¹ In the cemetery at Noşlac vessels with stamped decoration (grave 18, grave 53), and vessels with superficial incisions (grave 25, grave 26, grave 30, grave 46, and grave 64) were found. A pear-shaped polished vessel is known from grave 36.³² In the cemetery of Valea Largă two pear-shaped polished vessels were discovered in grave 7 and grave 9, a bi-conically shaped vessel comes from grave 9, while a superficially incised vessel was found in grave 8.³³ Grave 7 from the cemetery at Fântânele contained a bi-conically shaped polished vessel.³⁴ According to Radu Harhoiu the vessels with superficial incisions can be categorized as type 02, and one of these was found in the cemetery at Galaţii Bistriţei, in grave 35.³⁵

Regarding the distribution pattern of the vessels made after Germanic traditions inside the cemetery from Band, these do not cluster in a single area, but are pretty much dispersed. Another important aspect is that the graves with pottery made after Germanic traditions lay close to those graves which contain horse bones. Furthermore, in some cases the graves which contain horse bones do contain pottery made after Germanic traditions as well (Fig.4). This situation is not a special one, but it can be observed in other row-grave cemeteries too.

²² VIDA 1999, 33–63.

²³ KISS 1992, 55, Karte 17; VIDA 1999, 37, Abb. 3.

²⁴ KISS 1992, 54–56; KISS 1996, 252–256; VIDA 1999, 39–42.

²⁵ KISS 1996, 27–55.

²⁶ HAJNAL 2006, 184.

²⁷ HAJNAL 2006, 182.

²⁸ DOBOS 2018, 627–631.

²⁹ HARHOIU 1999–2001, 231.

³⁰ CSEH ET AL. 1999, 133–135.

³¹ ROSKA 1934, 123–125.

³² RUSU 1962, 269–292.

³³ HICA 1974, 517–526.

³⁴ DOBOS-OPREANU 2012, 9–103.

³⁵ HARHOIU 2008, 183–241.

CATALOGUE

Pear-shaped vessels (Fig. 1)

Grave 3. The grave had a W–E orientation and 130 cm depth.³⁶ The grave also includes an oxidised iron shred. The vessel was deposited at the western side of the head.

Description: It is made on the fast wheel and has a brownish gray colour and reductant firing. The mouth of the vessel is slightly splayed, the body is pear-shaped, and the bottom is slightly rounded. It has no decoration, but it has been polished with some kind of organic material. (Fig.1/1)

H: 104 mm, D_{rim} : 63 mm, th_{wall} : 4 mm, D_{bottom} : 46 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V14835 (II.9133).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 279.

Grave 110. The grave was orientated W–E and had the depth of 45 cm.³⁷ The vessel was found in the western corner of the grave.

Description: The mug is made on fast wheel and has a brownish-gray colour and reductant burning. Its rim is slightly splayed, the body is pear-shaped, bottom is rounded. It has no decoration, but it was polished. (Fig. 1/2)

H: 149 mm, D_{rim} : 94 mm, th_{wall} : 5 mm, D_{bottom} : 88 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V1556 (II.9518).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 343.

Grave 157. which had the orientation W–E, in the SW corner of the grave, which had the depth of 130 cm. Alongside the vessel the grave inventory included: a bronze belt buckle, an iron blade, a bronze necklace, fragments of a comb, and an iron belt-buckle.³⁸

Description: The vessel has the shape of a miniature mug, made on fast wheel, with brownish-gray colour due to its reductant burning. It has a splayed rim, a rounded body and a

relatively straight bottom. It has no decoration, but it was polished. (Fig.1/3)

H: 57 mm, D_{rim} : 36 mm, th_{wall} : 3 mm, D_{bottom} : 34 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V15149 (II.9617).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 353.

Grave 164. The grave had the depth of 100 cm, and was oriented SW–NE. No other grave goods were discovered.³⁹

Description: The vessel is made on fast wheel, it has brownish-gray colour due to its reductant burning. The rim of the vessel is slightly splayed, it has a rounded body and a rounded bottom. It was polished, but it has no other decoration. (Fig. 1/4)

H: 104 mm, D_{rim} : 68 mm, th_{wall} : 3 mm, D_{bottom} : 62 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no. V1554 (II.9640).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 353.

Bi-conical vessels (Fig. 2)

Grave 29. The grave is orientated W–E, and has the depth of 100 cm. The vessel was positioned next to the deceased's head, on the right side. Alongside the vessel other grave-goods were discovered: a bronze needle, earrings, 17 beads, two spindle buttons, comb, iron belt buckle, iron blade, curved iron knife, three silver belt buckles, two silver chain-link, stylus, iron buckle, and iron drill fragments.⁴⁰

Description: It was made on fast wheel, from fine clay, and has brownish-gray colour due to its reductant burning. The rim of the vessel is slightly splayed, and it has a bi-conically shaped body, with flattened bottom. (Fig. 2/1)

H: 124 mm, D_{rim} : 70 mm, th_{wall} : 4 mm, D_{bottom} : 53 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no. V1557 (II.9335).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 311.

³⁶ Kovács 1913, 281–282.

³⁷ Kovács 1913, 340.

³⁸ Kovács 1913, 353–355.

³⁹ Kovács 1913, 358.

⁴⁰ Kovács 1913, 308–311.

Grave 39. The grave is orientated W–E and it had a depth of 95 cm. The vessel was found in the SW corner, together with an iron belt-buckle, fragments of a bronze bracelet, two bronze belt-buckles, a golden ring, fragments of a knife and iron shards.⁴¹

Description: The vessel was thrown on fast wheel, the fabric includes black granulations, and it has greyish brown colour due to the reductant burning. It has a slightly splayed rim, a bi-conically shaped body which becomes wider at its bottom. (Fig.2/2)

H: 144 mm, D_{rim} : 86 mm, th_{wall} : 5 mm, D_{bottom} : 66 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V14845 (II.9387).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 311.

Grave 146. The grave is orientated W–E and has a depth of 70 cm. The vessel was found on the eastern side of the grave, next to the human remains, without further grave goods.⁴²

Description: The vessel is thrown on fast wheel, from fine clay. It has a brownish gray colour, and it was burnt in a reductant way. It has a slightly spayed rim, a biconically shaped and slightly asymmetric body, and a flattened bottom. It has no decoration, but it was polished. (Fig.2/3)

H: 116 mm, D_{rim} : 78 mm, th_{wall} : 4 mm, D_{bottom} : 63 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V15723 (II.9399).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 342.

Vessels with stamped decoration (Fig. 3/3–4)

Grave 167. The grave was orientated W–E, with a depth of 120 cm. The vessel was deposited at the southern side of the grave, alongside with a horse scapula.⁴³

Description: The vessel was thrown on fast wheel, and it has dark-beige colour due to the reductant burning used as its firing process. It has a prominent rim, rounded body and flat-tened bottom. It is decorated with stamped decoration. (Fig. 3/3)

H: 98 mm, D_{rim} : 64 mm, th_{wall} : 3 mm, D_{bottom} : 46 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V15704 (II.9646).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 359.

Grave 180. It was orientated W–E and had a depth of 90 cm. The pottery was found in the western corner of the grave, without other grave goods.⁴⁴

Description: The vessel has a brownish-gray colour due to its reductant burning. It was made on fast wheel. It has prominent rim, an elongated neck, which is decorated with three rows of stamped decoration similar to the vessel found in grave 167. (Fig.3 /4)

H: 147.7 mm, D_{rim} : 87.4 mm, th_{wall} : 5 mm, D_{bottom} : 55.6 mm.

Storage: MNIR, inv. no. 54.198.

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 343.

Vessels with smoothed decoration (Fig. 3/1–2)

Grave 63. The grave had the depth of 100 cm, and the vessel was found near to grave 62. There were no other grave goods.⁴⁵

Description: The vessel was made on fast wheel, from fine clay, and due to its reductant burning it has a blackish-gray colour. Its rim is broken, it has a pear-shaped body and is decorated with fine lines, which together make a grid pattern. (Fig. 3/1)

H: 95 mm, D_{rim} : 63 mm, th_{wall} : 3 mm, D_{bottom} : 42 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V15703 (II.9649).

Bibliography: Kovács 1913, 311.

Grave 116. The grave was orientated W–E, and had a depth of 100 cm. The vessel was found in the northern part of the grave with no other grave goods.⁴⁶

Description: The vessel was thrown on fast wheel from fine clay and it has a deep gray colour due to its reductant burning. The rim is rounded, the body is pear-shaped, and the bottom is flat-tened. On the shoulders of the vessel is a lining,

⁴¹ Kovács 1913, 318–320.

⁴² Kovács 1913, 346.

⁴³ Kovács 1913, 359.

⁴⁴ Kovács 1913, 363.

⁴⁵ Kovács 1913, 328.

⁴⁶ Kovács 1913, 340.

above this, it has a net-pattern. (Fig. 3/2)
 H: 94 mm, D_{rim}: 62 mm, th_{wall}: 4 mm, D_{bottom}:
 62 mm.

Storage: MNIT, inv. no.V10881 (II.9521).

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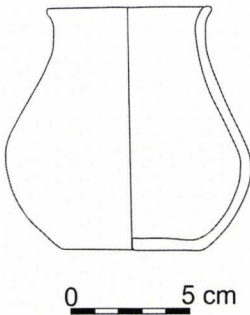
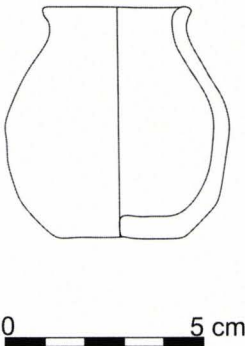
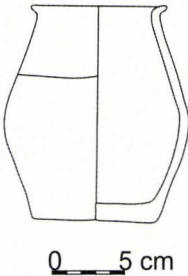
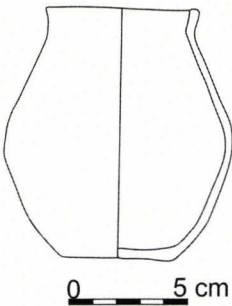
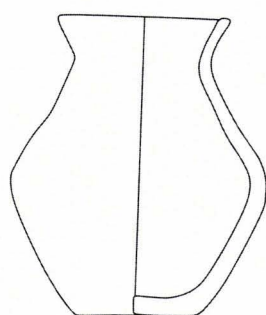


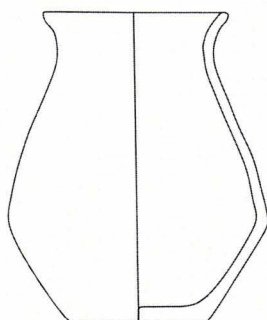
Fig. 1. Pear-shaped vessels



0 5 cm



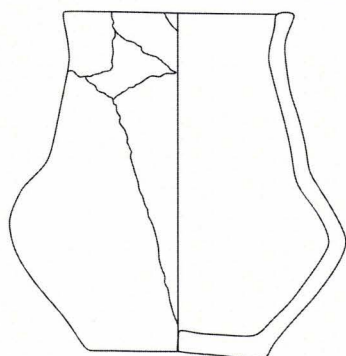
1



0 5 cm



2



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3

Fig. 2. Bi-conical vessels

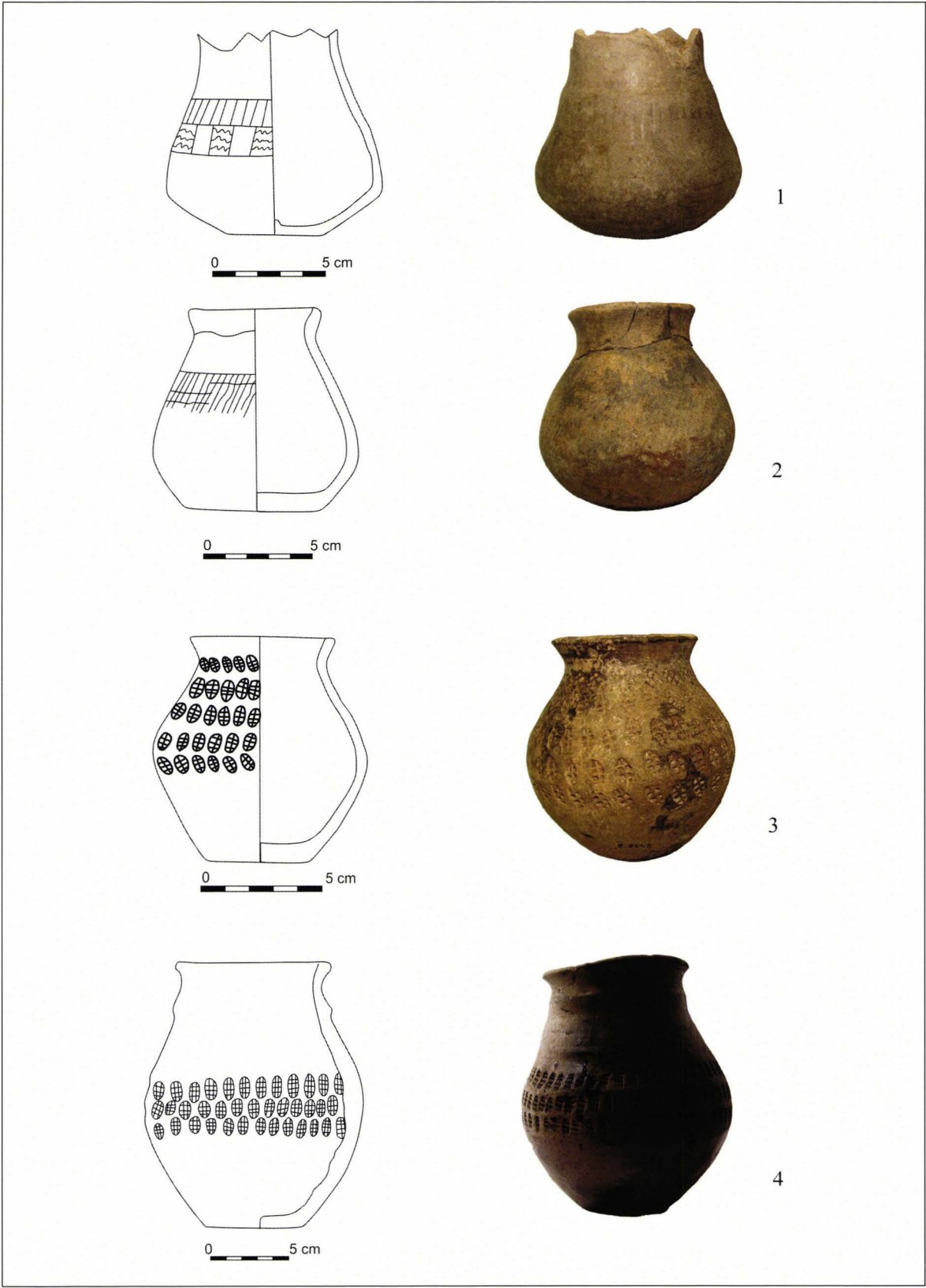


Fig. 3. Vessels with smoothed decoration and stamped decoration

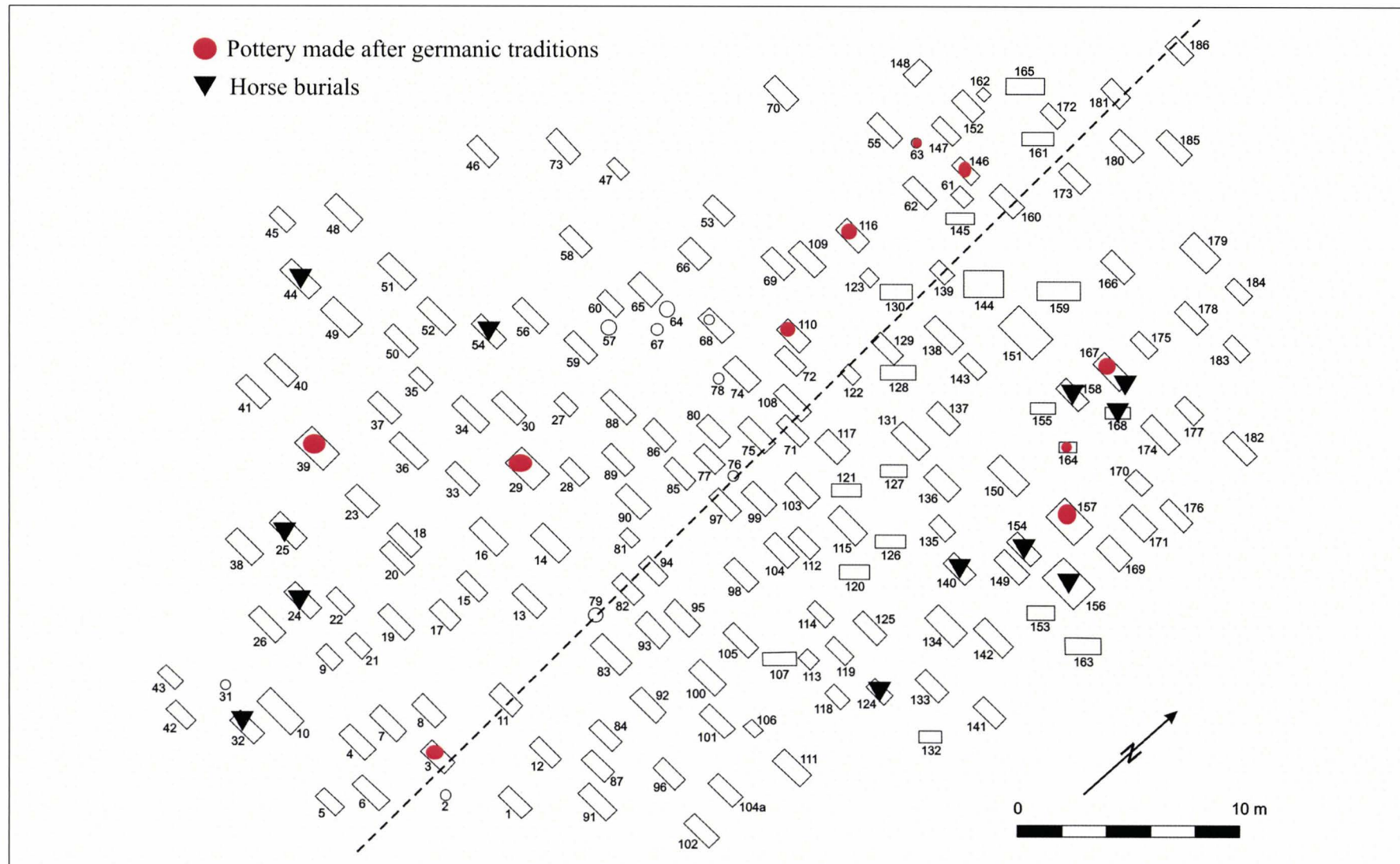


Fig. 4. Map of the cemetery with the distribution of pottery made after Germanic traditions (redrawn by the author after Kovács 1913, Fig.2)

INVESTIGATING A LATE MEDIEVAL CEMETERY

Zsolt NYÁRÁDI*

The mound found north of Orășeni and west of the mouth of Daia Creek was noticed by archaeologists in the 1960s. At this time, pebble extraction was started in order to provide materials for repaving the road and, as human remains had been uncovered during this work, the quarrying was halted.¹

In 2015, during our archeological survey, we collected human bones from the recently plowed lower areas near the mound. During the autumn of the same year, we opened a small 1 × 3 m test pit in the higher, western area. In this we observed the traces of several graves, which convinced us to plan the excavation of a larger surface. We did this during the following year, when we opened a total of five 5 × 5 m excavation trenches, leaving 0.5 m thick walls between them in order to have stratigraphic reference. The excavation area covered about two thirds of the mound's surface, with its north-eastern side remaining unexcavated due to the presence of a very old tree, with a one meter thick trunk, which also prevented us from determining how far the cemetery stretched in this direction.

During the excavation, which lasted several months, we identified the traces of 58 graves. There were no traces of any buildings which could have indicated the presence religious structures. Furthermore, the directions in which the graves were facing did not suggest that these had been oriented toward a nearby building, but instead, toward the positions where the sun would rise during different seasons. As such, we could observe considerable differences in the positioning of graves that had been dug during the same decade.

The findings suggest that the cemetery had been in use since the turn of the 15th–16th centuries up to the second half of the 19th century, with a brief interruption during the 18th century. The artifacts recovered from the 16th–17th century graves don't have any parallels in the inventories of church cemeteries found in Székely Land. Because of its rich yield of artifacts, and also its peripheral location, the cemetery requires a much closer inspection. The primary anthropological analysis of the bone fragments is complete.² In this study we would like to present the archaeological results and the recovered artifacts. Naturally, we cannot overlook the history of the settlement and we have interpreted the newly acquired data in this context.

Keywords: mound, cemetery, coins, signet ring, clothing, hairstyle, foreign culture elements

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENT'S HISTORY

Orășeni can be found on the southern border of the Seat of Odorhei, in the valley of the Homorodul Mare river, near the neighboring Saxon settlements (Fig. 1). Its name, contrary to

the opinion of Balázs Orbán,³ comes from the combination of the Arpadian Period personal name *Varous*, *Varus*, *Warus*⁴ with the Hungarian word for village, with a personal possessive

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¹ FERENCZI 2002, 19–20.

² MILLER 2018.

³ According to him, Orășeni (HU: *Városfalva*) got its name from the nearby castle (translator's note: the Hungarian word for castle is *vár*) (ORBÁN 1868, 169, JÁNOSFALVI 2003, 86–87), while another opinion suggests that it got its name from the market that was held in the settlement (translator's note: the Hungarian word for market is *vásár*) (COROI 2012–2013, 485).

⁴ FEHÉRTÓI 2004, 794.

suffix in the end. Out of the 139 settlements of the medieval Seat of Odorhei, 45 settlements hold similar names. Miklós Kázmér studied this particular naming style in depth and reached the conclusion that these began to appear in the 13th century, becoming most common between the 14th–16th centuries.⁵ The archaeological finds recovered from inside the settlement also seem to indicate the same period, showing that Orășeni already existed by the 13th century.

The first written account of Orășeni, part of Mărtiniș commune (Fig. 2), dates back to 1566.⁶ Following the Székely revolt in 1562, most of the inhabitants of Orășeni were probably turned into serfs. In 1567, during the recording of the 25 Dinar tax, a total of eight taxable estates were mentioned.⁷ In 1569, Mihály Kornis and his brother Farkas, petitioned the prince, requesting that the 32 household serfs of Orășeni and Ionești be transferred into the service of the Sânpaul court.⁸ This petition also revealed that the two boys split the family's holdings amongst themselves. The holdings that were part of the Seat of Odorhei were controlled from Sânpaul, while those that were part of the Seat of Mureș, from Sângeorgiu de Pădure.⁹ The holdings in the Seat of Odorhei were given to Farkas Kornis, who in 1576, during the recording of the 50 Dinar tax, paid seven Forints for Orășeni.¹⁰

In 1602, in addition to the four *primipili*, twelve free Székely and seven serf families were

also recorded to have sworn fealty to the emperor.¹¹ In 1604 a steward named Mihály Magyari is mentioned in Orășeni.¹² In 1614, with the occasion of a rather meticulous census, the village was recorded as being inhabited by nine *primipili*, three freeman, six serf and one cotter families.¹³ Six destitute families were also recorded alongside these.¹⁴ Based on this information, we can assume that the village's population was made up of approximately 140 individuals. In 1627, in addition to the twelve *primipili* families, a widow, five foot musketeers, and three re-indentured serfs were also recorded.¹⁵

In 1625, the male branch of the Kornis family in Sânpaul ceased with the death of Ferenc Kornis.¹⁶ Without any direct descendants, the interconnected land holdings were divided up between the two female members of the Kornis family and their descendants. In 1629, the Kornis lands were divided by Gábor Bethlen between János Rédei and Borbála Kornis,¹⁷ who was later sentenced to death and her possessions were taken away as a result of the Sabbatarian trials. She ultimately managed to save herself from the execution but all her lands were confiscated.¹⁸ The holdings in the Seat of Odorhei, along with the manor in Sânpaul, were sold by Rákóczi to János Bethlen for 7000 Forints.¹⁹ János Rhédei, the husband of Margit, became a judge at the crown court of the Seat of Odorhei, so part of the holdings, among them also Orășeni and its lands, came into his

⁵ KÁZMÉR 1970, 58–59.

⁶ SzOKL II, 196. Balázs Orbán's presumption, that it coincides with a settlement called *Varosio*, mentioned in 1317 in Papal records, is incorrect.

⁷ SzOKL II, 218.

⁸ Vass 1910, 136.

⁹ Vass 1910, 133–136.

¹⁰ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 39.

¹¹ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 103.

¹² SzOKL ú.s. IV, 155.

¹³ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 300.

¹⁴ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 549.

¹⁵ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 730.

¹⁶ BALOGH–HORN 2008, 895–896.

¹⁷ KOMÁROMY 1884, 47.

¹⁸ Vass 1906, 320.

¹⁹ Vass 1906, 321.

possession.²⁰ The fates of the various parts of the estate are not yet clear after this point. What is certain though, is that during the 18th century, following the death of Zsigmond Rhédei, in 1771, Katalin Wesselényi had at her disposal parts of the estates at Petreni, Mărtiniș, Locodeni, Rareș, Orășeni, Ionești, Satu Nou, Ocland, Crăciunel, Merești, Mujna, Călugăreni, Ghipeș, Chinușu, Bădeni, Daia, and Odorhei.²¹ During the first half of the 18th century, a different part of the estate was found in the possession of the Bethlen family.²²

The Kénosi noble family also sprouted roots in Orășeni during the first decade of the 17th century. The steward, Mihály Magyari,²³ is mentioned in 1604, adopting Pál Kénosi, whose son, Ferenc, is mentioned in 1635.²⁴ He married Kata Lentz Ferenc, further enlarging the family's estate in Orășeni.²⁵ In 1693, Kata offered a

tablecloth to the parish, as a gift.²⁶ In 1712 Zsigmond Kénosi and Pál Kénosi are mentioned as nobles in the village,²⁷ who were almost certainly the sons of Ferenc.

The first official census in the village counted 75 households, 76 families, and a total of 335 inhabitants, eight of which were living elsewhere. Out of the total inhabitants there were 72 married, 102 unmarried, 1 priest, 27 nobles, 32 peasants, 19 cotters, and 14 families were marked as belonging to other categories, while there were also 23 children under 12 and 10 under 17.²⁸

During the middle ages the village did not have its own church and we can find it as the curacy of the church in Petreni, appearing after the Reformation as a Unitarian curacy. It became independent and got its own church following 1650.²⁹

BURIAL MOUND FOUND ON THE VILLAGE BORDER

North of the village, on the left side of the Homorodul Mare river and on the right side of Daia creek, there stands a mound with an artificial appearance. We can also encounter this location that sits on "*a lonely hilltop, rising up in front of the mouth of Daia creek*", in the writings of Balázs Orbán.³⁰ His descriptions include the chapel of the nearby village called Tankófalva,³¹ where the Romanians, who had gradually become integrated, were buried. The

data collected in 1864 by Frigyes Pesty contains the toponym *Kápolnatető* (meaning *chapel hilltop*), which is said to have been the location of a 16th century pre-Reformation chapel³². The area also appears marked on cadaster maps drawn at the end of the monarchy. It is marked with cadaster number 644, and it was designated as a cemetery. This is very important information as it establishes the mound's original size and therefore the exact limits of the cemetery,

²⁰ BALOGH 2012, 1214.

²¹ Cluj County National Archive Directorate, Cluj-Napoca. Ground no. 221. Wesselényi de Hadad family grounds 1631–1789. 205. Documents regarding the Sânpaul (Homoródszentpál) estate. Document no. 29.

²² BICSOK 2002, 141.

²³ SZOKL Ű.S. IV, 155.

²⁴ SZOKL Ű.S. V, 225.

²⁵ PÁLMAY 1900, 148.

²⁶ MOLNÁR B. 1999, 155.

²⁷ PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 184.

²⁸ DÁNYI-DÁVID 1960, 366–367.

²⁹ Archive of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania. *The records of Bishop István Lázár's Generális Visitatio in the areas of Turda-Arieș, Cristur and Odorhei in 1788 and 1789*, 595–596.

³⁰ ORBÁN 1868, 169.

³¹ The settlement appearing in 17th century urbariums doesn't show up anywhere in official censuses. Its archaeological traces were identified by András Sófalvi. The findings suggest that the small village was inhabited between the 13th–17th centuries.

³² PFHNGY 2013, 217.

before it had been disturbed. (Fig. 3)

In 1913, when the natural monuments of the Seat of Odorhei were listed, it was mentioned that there were several mounds made up of earth and gravel between Sânpaul and Cața, which were the graves of Székelys buried in 1519.³³ This information also attracted the attention of archaeologist Géza Ferenci, who attempted to locate the site of the battle by surveying the area.

According to historians, the battle, which resulted in the victory of the voivodes armies, actually took place somewhere between Sânpaul and Drăușeni.³⁴ Both sides suffered significant losses on this occasion. The voivode had the captured Székely leaders decapitated and confiscated their possessions. Ferenczi was informed by locals that back in 1910, when the Homorod river was being regulated and a bridge was built over the newly built canal, human bones and weapons were found in the area. He also remarked that the nearby mound was referred to as "*the Jewish cemetery*". Gravel extraction was started in this area in April 1960, in order to repair the country road leading toward Daia. Human remains were found while these works were being executed.³⁵ In the museum inventory, we managed to identify a highly corroded Austrian copper Kreutzer from 1806, two coffin nails, and two metal coffin hinges (a similar one was recovered from grave no. 42).³⁶

During our 2016 excavation, on the more disturbed southern side of the mound, we observed the traces of an earlier test pit, which was 7–8 m long, about 2 m wide, reaching 1.2–1.3 m in depth on the top and 80 cm at the bottom of the hill, decreasing stepwise, until they were only uncovering the humus layer. Unfortunately, no excavation journal or artifacts remain. It is presumable that it had been created by the archaeologist from the Odorhei

museum, sometime after 1980, as this was when he wrote about the location of the battlefield and its mass grave, adding that further excavations were necessary in the area in order to confirm this.³⁷

After this it became widely known as the location of a potential mass grave. Gradually, the earlier "*Kápolna*" (*Chapel*) toponym also went out of use, the area being referred to today as "*Székelység*" (meaning Székely People) or "*Székelység helye*" (meaning The Place of the Székely People). (Fig. 4)

In 1979, Géza Ferenczi collected late medieval pottery fragments from the plow zone found on the small saddle behind the mound. In 2015 we searched the area together with András Sófalvi. An old tree occupies the north eastern side of the mound's plowed section, which forms a roughly square shaped surface, measuring approximately 240 square meters, 16–17 m long and 14–15 m wide. The plow zone surrounding the tree also yielded small pieces of human bone, and pottery fragments.³⁸ During our field survey we determined that the mound used to be much larger, this being suggested by the fact that the plow zones found to the south and east of it also contained a lot of gravel mixed into the soil.

During November of that same year, we opened a test pit on the north-western side of the hill, on a 3 × 1 m surface. This produced traces of graves that had been disturbed, as well as graves that were superimposed, presenting us with the image of a church cemetery instead of that of a mass grave.

The condition of the graves made possible the planning and execution of a larger scale excavation and for this reason we did not pick up the remains, covering them back up inside the excavation.

³³ Transylvania. National Reviewer Magazine. The Report of the Transylvanian Carpathian Association and Museum. Eds. Lajos Szádecky, Kovács Géza. 1913. Year XXII. Cluj-Napoca, 1914, 209.

³⁴ BALOGH 2011, 15.

³⁵ FERENCZI 1980, June 6th.

³⁶ Accompanying text with Géza Ferenczi's signature: Orășeni. 1960.4.5. from the late medieval cemetery found on the gravel mound 100–150 m north-west of the junction toward Daia.

³⁷ FERENCZI 1980. June 6th.

³⁸ GPS: 46.168487, 25.361292.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

In 2016 we succeeded in including the location in the common anthropological program of the Haáz Rezső Museum and Archaeotek, so we began excavations in April. We planned to investigate the site by including most of the mound's surface in our 5 × 5 m excavation trench system, with the first session reaching the level of the graves (Fig. 5).³⁹ Following this, the American anthropology team took over the excavation and documentation of the graves, under the coordination of the supervising archaeologist. The anthropology team was led by Anna Osterholtz (Mississippi State University, USA) and her assistant Clair Ralston (University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA).

We also incorporated the previous year's test pit into our excavation trench system, so it didn't receive a separate designation. As we were aware that we might find burials in this area, we started digging on the opposite side. Inside trench no. 1, just under the layer turf, we detected a dark grey layer containing gravel. In the southern profile of the trench, and nearby, we detected the trench layer which had been disturbed during previous excavations, and this also yielded human remains. On the eastern side, the layer underneath the plowed soil was already the yellow subsoil containing sand and gravel. In the north-eastern corner, at a depth of 0.9 m from the surface, we reached the yellow clay subsoil, from which the gravel layer was well separated. At first glance it appeared as a large dig-in, so here we decided to go further down on a 3 × 2 m surface (Fig. 6). The layer of clay was followed by layers of gravel, which did not contain any findings, and which began to slope downward, in a natural manner, in a south-eastern direction, toward the lower parts of the mound. On this side we continued to observe this, down to a depth of 3.8 m, establishing that this was the loose, gravel rich alluvium left on the layer of clay naturally by the repeated flooding of the Homorod river (Fig. 8). As such, with our first excavation trench we

excluded the possibility of this being an artificial structure originating at the beginning of the 16th century, as a mass grave, linked to the battle that took place nearby. No graves were detected inside the excavation trench. Meanwhile, in the north-western corner, the traces of a grave indicated that there had also been graves here at an earlier point in time. The depth of the pit, measured from the surface was only one meter, which suggested that in this area, the graves found closer to the surface had been destroyed by the gravel extraction.

We opened excavation trench no. 2 in a way that aligned it with no. 1, on the opposite side of the mound, six meters away, with this area in between them being the top of the mound. The 3 × 1 meter test pit that had been created the previous year fell in its south-western corner, so the grave sections detected earlier were now entirely excavated. After the 20–25 cm thick layer of turf was removed, we were already able to detect traces of graves, with an occasional layer of grey schist found between them. It was later revealed that this loose layer was actually the subsoil. Therefore, the natural stratigraphy was significantly different on the two sides of the mound (Fig. 9).

During the excavation, this trench yielded the most graves, numbering a total of 31. We reached the western limit of the cemetery, where the plowing had partially disturbed the upper parts of several skeletons. The superimposed positions of the graves clearly indicated that the cemetery had been in use for several centuries. The filling of the graves which had been disturbed yielded coffin nails and pottery fragments.

A similar picture was provided to us by trench no. 3, which we opened south of no. 2 (Fig. 10). The southern side had a thick, 30–40 cm layer of humus. Beneath this we found traces of graves, eight of which were excavated. On the southern side we noticed larger dig-ins, containing scattered bone fragments, however,

³⁹ The excavation was carried out under the supervision of Zsolt Nyárádi, and executed by Zsombor Bálint, Gyula Szász, Márton Sebők, and Lajos Nyárádi.

reaching the bottom of the pits, we didn't find any actual graves. Supposedly, some graves were also destroyed on this side, but we managed to locate the southern edge of the cemetery.

The fourth trench was opened east of the third one. Following the removal of the turf layer, in the north-eastern corner, we detected a lightly disturbed grave. We managed to observe the transition of one subsoil type to another inside this trench. In the north-eastern corner there was a clayey subsoil, on the south-eastern side it was made up of loose gravel, while on the southern and south-western side there was a grey layer, spotted with lime (Fig. 11).

On the south-western side we noticed a one-meter-deep dig-in, containing mixed clayey soil, with numerous bone fragments found inside it. Similarly, to the dig-ins found in trench 3, we weren't able to find any actual graves here either, with several graves having probably been destroyed when this dig-in was created. Presumably, these were dug when gravel was being excavated, and as they were not able to find suitable material, the pits were filled back in. Graves were preserved only in the higher north-western corner, with a total of eight being excavated. Presumably, other graves were also destroyed during the gravel extraction on the eastern side.

Based on what we learned from trenches 1 and 4, we didn't see much sense in opening another trench in the east, so we decided to go for the mound's center.

In this north-eastern corner, just under the turf layer, we were able to observe traces of two graves that had been disturbed only slightly. In the south-eastern corner we also noticed the test pit detected and documented earlier in trench 1. Its deepest point was 1–1.1 m. Its filling also contained scattered bone fragments. In the south-western corner we also noticed a dig-in, and at a depth of about one meter it contained an adult skull, wrapped in a green plastic bag. "Our find" represented further evidence that the cemetery found on the mound had already been disturbed several times. At the bottom of the dig-in we also documented the pit of a modern age grave. On the highest, north-western side, we observed mostly large, modern age graves, which had disturbed the earlier ones. As such, this area contained a significant amount of scattered bones. The subsoil's transition from schist to clay and finally to gravel was also clearly visible in this trench. Here the cemetery also continued stretching toward the north, but unfortunately, we weren't able to open an additional trench because of the presence of a large tree. In this trench, we documented a total of 12 graves.

After finishing the excavation, it became clear that the cemetery had been in use since the turn of the 15th–16th centuries until the middle of the 19th century. We didn't find any traces of buildings in any of the trenches, and the inconsistent orientation of the graves also excludes the possibility of the existence of a wooden building.

A CEMETERY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIELD

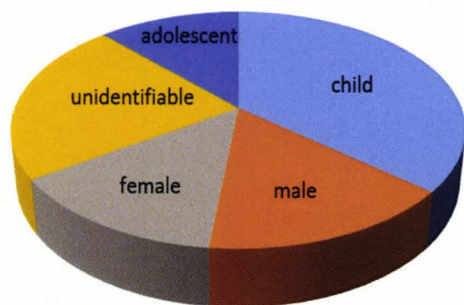
With the archaeological excavations completed, and the findings processed, we found answers to many of our questions regarding the site, but, new questions also emerged. We succeeded in determining the general size of the cemetery, and on the 140 square meter surface we managed to document 58 graves. Only an approximately 50 square meter surface on the northern side was left unexplored. The earlier information, according to which the mound's eastern side had been significantly damaged, was confirmed. Regarding the size of the surface that was designated as a graveyard, we gained very good insight from

the cadaster measurements done back during the monarchy. Based on this, its borders measured 18 m on the eastern, 13 m on the northern, 20 on the southern, and roughly 15 m on the western side. Based on this, we determined that the surface of the graveyard would have been 300–350 square meters (Fig. 5). We estimate that during the past century, about half the graveyard's surface was destroyed. We reached roughly the same conclusion after our field survey. We could clearly distinguish the yellowish pebbles that had reached the surface on the humus covering the plow zone.

a. General features

If we look at the ages of the bodies found inside the graves, we can see that 47 % of them were either children or adolescents. This fits in entirely with the percentages observed in church cemeteries, which is usually between 41–59 %.⁴⁰ 22 % (13) of the documented graves contained adult bodies with unidentifiable genders. 16 % (9) were male, 14 % (8) female, 12 % adolescent, while 36 % (21) were children under the age of 10 or infants.

Distribution of the graves



Concerning the position of the hands, 35 of the skeletons had been so damaged that we were unable to determine it (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58). For the remaining 23 cases, we were able to observe 11 different types of positions. This variety is not really typical for the graves in medieval church cemeteries (Mugeni, Văleni, Brădești, Lueta). In Orășeni there were eight cases of hands being clasped together over the pelvis (3, 20, 21, 29, 31, 41, 53, 54). The ages of these graves range between the oldest and the most recent. Based on our observations in the Seat of Odorhei, the

most common position for the arms is where they are stretched out along the body, and this could only be observed in two of our cases (12, 35). Both of these dated back to the 19th century. Generally, the second most common position was where the hands would be clasped together above the pelvis, and this was observed in 8 cases in Orășeni (3, 20, 21, 29, 31, 41, 53, 54). These could be found in the oldest, as well as the newest graves. In three cases, dating to the 16th–17th centuries, the elbows had been bent to a right angle and the hands placed on top of each other above the pelvis (7, 8, 38), and in the case of two 17th century graves (10, 52), the elbows were bent to a right angle and the hands placed on the chest. In the cases of one 16th (30) and one 18th century (48) graves, the left hand was placed over the pelvis, while the right hand was above the pelvis. This same situation, but with the opposite arms in those respective positions was noticed in a 16th century grave (33). There were also unique cases such as where both arms were completely pulled up on to the shoulders (grave no. 18 dating to the 18th–19th centuries), where the hands were placed beneath the pelvis in a 19th century grave (42), in one early grave the arms were crossed, raised and placed on the chest (47), and in the case of a similarly early grave containing the body of a woman, the hands were bent and placed on the left side of the pelvis, embracing her child (13). The analysis of the positions of the arms, due to the small number of each example and the large variety, did not allow us to distinguish any categories within the cemetery, nor did it aid us in determining chronology.

b. Descriptions of the graves

When describing the graves, the main features we recorded were: the depth and the orientation of the grave, the deceased's gender, age, their skeleton's characteristics, and the condition of their bones. The determination of the age and

gender of the uncovered bodies was done by the anthropologists taking part in the excavation. The grave depths were given in absolute above sea level height.⁴¹

⁴⁰ MENDE 2005, 186.

⁴¹ We used the following abbreviations: D – depth, O – orientation (in the case of uncertain angles we made due with just determining if they were facing roughly toward the east), G – gender, A – age, Sl – skeleton length, C – chronology.

Grave no. 1: trench 2, D: 478.99 m, O: 301°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. Only the two femurs and part of the left ankle were preserved. The filling was densely packed, lightly mixed, dark grey humus. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, nor were there any traces of a coffin. It was intersected by graves: 30, 32, 35, and 53.

Grave no. 2: trench 2, D: 478.99 m, O: 337°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. All that was left of the skeleton were two well preserved femurs, the left shin, and the right ankle with some toe ends. The filling of the grave was yellowish brown, compact, containing patches of clay and small pebbles. The outline of the grave could not be noticed and there were no annex objects or coffin. It was intersected by grave no. 30.

Grave no. 3: trench 4, D: 480.77 m, O: 248°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be determined, C: turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The skull was being crushed, the right arm broken, and a few ribs were dislocated. The skeleton was preserved down to the middle of the femur, the rest of it being destroyed, with the left side of the pelvis also missing. The filling was yellowish brown, humus, mixed with sand and gravel. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished and there was no coffin or any annex objects. The leg area of the grave had been destroyed back when gravel was being extracted from the area.

Grave no. 4: trench 3, D: 478.99 m, O: 220°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th century. Only the two femurs and the two shin bones were preserved, the rest of the skeleton having been destroyed. The grave was preserved in a fragmented, poor condition, with some of the bones having decayed completely. The filling was made of greyish, clayey, mixed humus chunks. Fragments of coffin planks were found during the excavation, without any coffin nails. There were no annex objects, and it was intersected by grave no. 17, and had been partially disturbed by grave no. 24.

Grave no. 5: trench 2, D: 479.23 m, O: 240°, A: around 4 years old, Sl: 93 cm, C: 16th century. The skull was crushed, the vertebrae and ribs had decomposed completely, and the ankle and phalanges were missing. The arm was resting at a right angle, on top of the chest. The filling of the grave was greyish, clayey, mixed with gravel and humus. The bottom of the coffin could be made out quite well in certain spots, along with what was left of the planks making up the lower part of the sides. Highly corroded coffin nails were also found during the excavation. A silver coin, with a diameter of 1.5 cm, minted in 1579, under Rudolf (1576–1608) was found between the phalanges of the left hand (Unger 1980, 810, 56.). The grave had disturbed grave no. 6, and was roughly the same age as no. 29.

Grave no. 6: trench 2, D: 479.5 m, O: 291°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The skeleton's bones were preserved in good condition, the skull was damaged, with the mandible, ribs, and vertebrae having been disturbed, especially on the right side. The grave was preserved only down to the upper arms, with the rest having been destroyed. The filling of the grave was grey, containing chunks of humus, and mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there was no coffin. During the excavation we found the remains of a pearled headdress, which had slid down next to the skull. Unfortunately, as the skull was crushed and the grave had been disturbed, we were unable to execute an in situ extraction. No textile traces were left either. During excavation, several types of pearls were also found, numbering a total of 132 pieces. One of these types had been made by forming pulled glass tubes into two lobes, forming double glass pearls, which were white in color. Five such fragments were found, parts of three separate pearl beads. The second group consisted of high quality, solid pearls, which had been made from dark blue, white, or light blue colored glass paste. Of this type we found 49 dark blue, 16 light blue, and 43 white pieces. They had diameters of 2–4 mm. The third group also consisted of larger blue, dark blue, and one single light blue colored pearls, measuring 0.4 cm in diameter. The

button like object carved from bone, with a hole in its top, was presumably used for fastening the two ends of the headdress. This object measures 1.4×0.8 cm. In the area underneath the mandible we found two silver pins with floral wire decorations. Three flower ornaments, with four solid beads fixed so as to form a pyramid shape on their endings, can be found on the side of the truncated cone shaped wire ornaments, made out of pressed silver sheets. The central part of one of them also has a similar structure. The other one has a center which rises slightly and holds a larger bead on top. Lower down, two out of the three wire ornaments are fixed next to each other, with the third being placed on top. This one has small pearls decorating its top. The pins that were meant to fasten them were not preserved. The bottom part of one of them had been destroyed completely and the other one is locked in place with a disk, drawn out of the pyramidal shape. A hole meant to hold the pin can be observed very well in the middle of this (diameter 0.01 cm). The height of the hair pin is 1.8–2 cm, its width 1.7–1.9 cm, and the diameter of its base is 1 cm. The grave had been disturbed by no. 42, and partially by no. 5.

Grave no. 7: trench 2–3, D: 478.43 m, O: 273°, A: 15–18 year old female, Sl: 161 cm, C: 16th century. The upper part of the grave (the skull), which was otherwise in good condition, had been disturbed slightly by a thick tree root. The skeleton was excavated intact. With the exception of the damages the skull had suffered, the bones were preserved in good condition. The hands were placed on top of each other on the pelvis. The filling was yellowish grey, clayey, containing chunks of humus, and was mixed. The coffin's sides, bottom, and part of its lid were preserved in good condition. It measured about 1.8 m in length, 60 cm wide at the head, 35–40 cm wide at the feet. The coffin had been fastened together without the use of any nails. The outline of the grave could also be made out quite well. Its length was 2.1 m and its width about 0.8 m. We found textile fragments next to 15 gilded silver beads, arranged in a semicircle about 12 cm away from the mandible, at the bottom of the right clavicle. The dark threads

could be found in the area of the buttons, and were supposedly part of the top of a richly decorated garment. The chest area of the skeleton was significantly discolored, this being the result of the decomposition of organic material. Two, highly corroded, small pairs of hooks, made of iron wire, which had merged with the blue color textile material during the decomposition process, were also part of the garment. The buttons were shaped to form 12 points, with one end having an ear for fastening, and the other holding four small, solid pearls, arranged to form a small pyramid shape. Its entire length is 1.3 cm, the length of the ear is 0.5 cm, and the diameter of the object is 0.4 cm. The 15 ornaments were supposedly fastened using a spring shaped silver wire. This was twisted into several layers (5–6), which ensured that it was firmly held in place.

On the fourth phalange of the right hand, we found a signet ring. This was hollow and had been made by being cut out of a silver sheet and fastened together. The bezel was oval, measuring 1.2×1.5 cm, holding on its flat surface an ornament resembling three flowers, with four petals each, growing out of a pot. This surface was surrounded by a lip shaped frame, the top of which was flat and decorated. The band is broken so its exact diameter could not be established, but, it measured approximately 2 cm.

Grave no. 8: trench 3, D: 478.7 m, O: 235°, A: young adult male, Sl: 168 cm, C: 16th century. The skull was damaged during the complete excavation of the grave. The rest of the skeleton was preserved in mediocre condition. The arms were bent and placed above the pelvis. The filling was yellowish, compact, clayey, and mixed. The body had not been buried in a coffin. It had supposedly been buried in a shroud, as there were clear traces of the body being wrapped. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. A cast bronze ring was found on the right hand. The signet ring's bezel was slightly oval in shape, measuring 1.2–1.4 cm in diameter, with the band having a diameter of 2–2.2 cm. The outer rim of the bezel is framed with an indentation. This surfaces is then divided in two by a horizontal line, having a diamond shaped pattern,

made out of semicircles, decorating the center. Perpendicular furrows can be seen on the outer edges of the four semicircles. Both lateral sides of the gradually widening shoulders of the ring are decorated with horizontal lines. The grave had been disturbed partially by no. 21 and no. 31.

Grave no. 9: trench 2, D: 479.65 m, O: 281°, A: adolescent, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. Only the crushed skull, the right upper arm and part of the lower arm, and a few right side ribs were preserved, with the rest having been destroyed as a result of later burials. Its filling was greyish, contained humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. During the excavation we found coffin planks and 6 forged nails, measuring 7 cm (heads 1 × 2 cm). There were no annex objects. The grave had been disturbed by no. 19 and no. 36.

Grave no. 10: trench 2, D: 478.88 m, O: 290°, A: middle aged male, Sl: 172 cm, C: early 17th century. The skull of the well preserved skeleton was imploded and shifted slightly toward the left. The left lower arm, the pelvis, and the top of the femur had been disturbed by plowing, similarly to the skull. Both arms were bent to a right angle and placed on the chest. The filling was yellowish brown, contained humus, and was mixed. During the excavation we found a coffin nail as well as a plank. The outline of the grave could be distinguished quite well, it measured 2.2 m in length and 0.75 m in width, with the corners being slightly rounded, narrowing a bit toward the feet. The right hand was holding a silver coin minted in 1615, under Matthias II (1608–1619), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 868, 61). The part that had been disturbed by plowing yielded a highly corroded, twice pierced silver coin minted in 1657, under Ferdinánd III (1637–1657), with a diameter of 1.7 cm (Unger 1980, 951, 68). The grave had partially disturbed no. 32.

Grave no. 11: trench 2, D: 478.95 m, O: 280°, A: newborn, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The newborn's grave was preserved only from the pelvis down. The

upper part had been destroyed by plowing. The bones were preserved in relatively good condition. Its filling was yellowish, clayey, and mixed. Both the bottom and the lid of the coffin were preserved. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished. For fastening the coffin lid, two thin nails were used with the heads decoratively shaped in the form of petals, measuring 5.5–6 cm in length. The grave had been dug over no. 30.

Grave no. 12. Trench 2, D: 479.3 m, O: 330°, A: adult male, Sl: 168 cm, C: after 1861. One of the most recent burials found in the cemetery, it was preserved in good condition. The skull was crushed, with the arms placed alongside the body. The roots of the nearby tree had dislocated some of the bones. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, contained humus, and was mixed. Parts of the coffin's side were well preserved. During excavation we found four 6 cm long nails with round, 1 cm diameter heads, and eight flat headed, 6.5 cm long nails, with the heads measuring 1 cm in length and 0.5–0.7 cm in width. These were iron forged, and had been used to hold the coffin together. Between the phalanges on the left hand we uncovered a copper Kreutzer, minted under József Ferenc (1848–1916), with a diameter of 1.9 cm (Huszár 1979, 2181, 310). The grave had been placed over graves 33, 53, and 54.

Grave no. 13: trenches 3–4, D: 449.95 m, O: 294°, A: female aged between 25–40, Sl: could not be determined, C: the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The grave was excavated from the pelvis up, with the legs having been destroyed. The skull had shifted considerably toward the left, with the entire upper body being tilted towards the left. The skull was crushed, but the bones were still in overall good condition. The hands were bent, placed over the pelvis, and shifted toward the left, as if embracing something. The filling was greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no traces of a coffin. There were no annex items. The mother had been buried with its newborn child (no. 14), on its right side. The legs had been

destroyed by a later, large size grave, which itself was destroyed by the gravel extraction.

Grave no. 14: trenches 3–4, D: 479.98, O: 294°, A: newborn (20–30 weeks old), Sl: could not be measured, C: the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. The small burial, measuring only 10.5 cm, contained only the larger bones of the upper body and a few ribs. Its filling was greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished and there were no traces of a coffin. There were no annex objects. The newborn had been buried alongside its mother (no. 13.)

Grave no. 15: trench 2, D: 479.47 m, O: 249°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. Only the bottom of the left femur, the two shin bones, the ankles and toes were preserved. The rest of the skeleton was destroyed by later burials. Its filling was greyish, loose, contained rocks, and was mixed. The upper layers of the filling yielded a silver coin minted in 1489–1490, under Matthias I (1458–1490), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 38, 567). The coin was perforated with a 0.2 mm hole. The same filling also yielded another silver coin, minted in 1559, under Ferdinánd (1526–1564), with a diameter of 1.5 cm (Unger 1980, 748, 50). During the excavation, two coffin nails were also recovered from near the legs. The grave was cut through by no. 26 and no. 35.

Grave no. 16: trench 2, D: 479.52 m, O: 269°, A: young adult female, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. The grave only contained a well preserved skull, the mandible, and several vertebrae. The rest of the skeleton was destroyed by later burials. Its filling was brownish grey, loose, and mixed. Just above the skull, the grave also contained the disturbed remains of two children. The body had been buried in a coffin and we found four 6–7 cm long, small, forged nails, with flat heads. The edge of the grave could be distinguished quite well. It had been cut through by grave no. 51.

Grave no. 17: trench 3, D: 478.57 m, O: 105°, A: infans I, Sl: 48 cm, C: 17th century. The bones

found inside the completely excavated grave had been disturbed by the roots of the nearby, large, now dead, pear tree. The bones themselves were preserved in good condition, with most of them being recoverable from the grave. Only some of the larger bones were still left in their anatomical positions. Its filling was brownish grey, loose, contained rocks, and was mixed. The filling also contained the disturbed remnants of a child's grave, which included some phalanges, one of which had a ring with an engraved silver ornament, its bezel oval shaped, measuring 1.6–1.2 cm in diameter and 0.3 cm in thickness. The engraving on the flat surface cannot be made out. A jointing is found on the bottom of the band, which has a diameter of 2.2 cm. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.2 m, its width at the head 0.7 m, and at the feet 0.5 m. During the excavation we found twelve 6.5–7 cm, small, forged nails, with flat heads. When the bones were being picked up, we found traces of a dark colored textile material in the area near the partially disturbed skull. The threads were silvered. They were presumably part of a veil or a headdress, the remaining parts of which had decomposed completely. The grave had destroyed the top part of grave no. 4.

Grave no. 18: trench 3, D: 478.29 m, O: 299°, A: adult male, Sl: 177 cm, C: 18th–19th centuries. The robust skull was strongly tilted to the left and the bones were preserved in good condition. Both arms were raised completely on to the shoulders and the lower vertebrae were dislocated. Its filling was yellowish brown, clayey, and compact. The upper part of the grave yielded a specific 18th–19th century type of enameled jug, known as a *bokály*. The mouth of the white vessel was broken off and was missing, the rest of it remaining completely intact. The white base color is separated by a thick green stripe on the bottom side, stretching around the vessel, which is further decorated within black lines, numbering five on the top and four underneath. The top half is separated in half by green and black perpendicular borders. One of these halves, where the handle is located, is decorated by three black, lattice decorations placed above each other. The other half, holds

green vine motifs, with black borders, growing out of each other. The rim, similarly to the bottom, is separated by a brownish black strip. Width: 9.5 cm, height (incomplete): 19.5 cm. The body was buried in a coffin and we found one 8 cm long, flat headed nail, and three round headed ones. The outline of the grave could also be distinguished quite well, it was 2.1 m long, 0.7 m wide at the top, and 0.6 m at the bottom. There was no object annexed to the grave itself. It had partially disturbed no. 8.

Grave no. 19: trench 2, D: 479.2 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. Only the forehead part of the skull was left, the rest of the skeleton having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. Large sections of the coffin's bottom and its lid were preserved, presumably this is why the bones had decomposed to such a great extent. Two 5.5–6 cm long, small, flat headed coffin nails were found. The outline of the grave could not be entirely discerned. There were no annex objects. The body was buried together with no. 25 and no. 26, which were also child graves. It was buried over no. 35, with a short interval between the two burials. The large grave in which the three children rested had cut through graves 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 20: trench 4, D: 479.84 m, O: 144°, A: adult female (35–39 years old), Sl: 1.65 m, C: 17th century. The grave remained in good condition, with the skull lightly cracked, and a few of the bones, including the arms, being slightly dislocated. The hands were clasped together above the pelvis. The toes of the right foot were missing. Its filling was yellowish, contained much gravel, and was loose. The upper layers of the filling yielded a coin minted in 1712, under Charles III (1711–1740), which was in very good condition, so good in fact that it was almost as if it was brand new (diameter 1.7 cm). Also in secondary position, another coin was found in the chest area, minted in 1530–1531, under Ferdinánd (1526–1564), (Huszár 1979, 691, 146). Next to this there was also a silver coin minted under Michael I,

ruler of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (1669–1673), which was highly corroded, its top had been perforated (coin diameter 1.6 cm, perforation diameter 0.2 cm). The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.82 m, and its width 0.55 m. During the excavation we uncovered eight 7.5 cm long forged iron nails, with flat heads, measuring 2 × 0.5 cm.

Grave no. 21: trench 3, D: 478.1 m, O: 329°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.3 m, C: 17th century. The skull was strongly tilted toward the left and the large bones were broken due to the weight of the soil. Beside this, the skeleton was preserved in good condition. The hands were clasped together above the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, compact, clayey, and mixed. No coffin nails were found during excavation, nor any traces of coffin planks. There were no annex objects, and it had slightly disturbed grave no. 8.

Grave no. 22: trench 4, D: 480.13 m, O: 239°, A: adult female (35–44 years old), Sl: could not be determined, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the right femur, the bottom and left side of the pelvis, and the top of the left femur were preserved, in relatively good condition. Its filling was yellowish, contained rocks, chunks of humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be discerned, there were no traces of a coffin or of any annex objects. It was cut through by no. 49, and its upper part had been completely destroyed by no. 20.

Grave no. 23: trench 4, D: 479.84 m, O: 283°, A: 8–10 year old child, Sl: 1.14 m, C: 15th–16th centuries. The skull was crushed, with only fragments of the skeleton being uncovered, which included the clavicles, a few left ribs, the left upper arm, the left side of the pelvis, the left femur along with the top of the shin bone, and the top of the right shin bone. Its filling was greyish, mixed, containing rocks and humus. During the excavation we found five 7.5 cm long forged coffin nails, with 2 × 0.5 diameter heads, which were presumably not part of this grave. There were no annex objects, but it is certain that this was the origin of the phalanges which had been disturbed by the grave next

it. Next to the greenish bones we found a silver coin minted in 1489–1490, under Matthias I (1458–1490), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 38, 567). The bottom of the grave had been disturbed by no. 20.

Grave no. 24: trench 4, D: 479.7 m, O: 278°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.1 m, C: beginning of the 16th century. The skeleton was in good condition but the skull was broken, the ankle and toes were left unexcavated, inside the trench wall. The arms were raised to a right angle on top of the chest, its filling was greyish, clayey, contained gravel, and patches of humus. During the excavation we also found coffin planks and coffin nails. The fingers of the right hand held a silver Dinar minted under Vladislaus II (1490–1516), with a diameter of 1.4 cm, and a perforation in its top, measuring 0.2 mm. It was partially disturbing no. 4.

Grave no. 25: trench 2, D: 479.16 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. Only small, unrecognizable bone fragments were found in the grave, the rest having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. A large portion of the coffin's bottom and lid were preserved, presumably this being the reason why so little was left of the skeleton. During excavation we found four 5.5 cm long, forged coffin nails, with round heads (diameter 1 cm). The grave outline could not be followed appropriately during excavation, and there were no annex objects. It was buried together with no. 19 and no. 26, which also belonged to children. It had been buried not long after no. 35, on top of it. The large pit of these three graves cut through 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 26: trench 2, D: 479.17 m, O: 285°, A: child, Sl: could not be established, C: 19th century. Only small unrecognizable bone fragments were left in the grave, the rest having decomposed entirely. The filling was grey, loose, contained clay patches, and was mixed. The filling found on top of the coffin yielded a copper Kreutzer, found in secondary position, minted in 1812, under Francis (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.3 cm (Unger 1980, 1405, 112),

its top had been perforated with a 0.4 m wide hole. A large portion of the coffin's bottom and lid were preserved, presumably this being the reason why the skeleton was so decomposed. During excavation we found a 7.5 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm) forged coffin nail. The grave outline could not be followed appropriately during excavation, and there were no annexes. It was buried together with no. 19 and no. 25, which were also child graves. It had been buried not long after no. 35, and on top of it. The large pit of these three graves cut through graves 15, 27, and 37.

Grave no. 27: trench 2, D: 479.57 m, O: 256°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The upper part of the grave only yielded a few vertebrae and ribs, the left lower arm with its fingers, but the lower half of the skeleton remained complete. The arm was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, contained humus, patches of clay, and was mixed. During excavation we found what was left of the coffin planks. It was being cut through by no. 36 and no. 37, and partially overlapped by no. 28.

Grave no. 28: trench 2, D: 479.72 m, O: about 280–290°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 18th century. The grave of this adult only yielded the broken fragments of the skull, the mandible, and the scapula, with the rest of the skeleton falling outside the trench. Its filling was greyish brown, containing patches of clay, humus, and was mixed. There were well preserved traces of coffin planks in the area near the skull. Alongside the coffin nails, we also found three small iron staples which served for holding the coffin together. The objects made out of forged iron had a width of 0.5 cm, and a thickness of 0.4 cm. The object had a length of 4.5–5 cm. The coffin planks were 2.5 cm thick, the staples were driven through the wood and their ends were then bent backwards. The grave was partially overlapping no. 27, and its lower half was no doubt being cut through by no. 40.

Grave no. 29: trench 2, D: 479.26 m, O: 276°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.08 m, C: 16th century. The grave was preserved in average condition,

the skull was crushed, and the left side of the upper body was missing entirely down to the femur. The arm was placed over the pelvis. Its filling was grey, contained rocks, patches of clay, and was mixed. During the excavation we found two 7.5 cm long, flat headed, forged nails, as well as the remains of the coffin planks. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished well, and there were no annexes, despite the fact that the finger bones of the right hand were colored green from oxidization. The grave was supposedly buried at the same time as no. 5.

Grave no. 30: trench 2, D: 478.53 m, O: 250°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.7 m, C: 16th century. The adult's grave was preserved in good condition, the skull had cracked under the weight of the soil, part of the ribs was fragmentary, and the ankles and feet were missing. The left hand was placed over the right side of the pelvis. During excavation we noticed the traces of coffin planks, but we didn't find any coffin nails. The filling of the grave yielded a slightly cracked, cast bronze signet ring, covered in green oxidization, with an oval bezel, measuring 1 × 1.4 cm, the band having a diameter of 2.1 cm, and with a dovetail joint at the bottom which had been flattened and sharpened. Based on the ornamentation found on it, it belongs to the category of 15th–16th century lily and life tree motif combination. The central motif on the oval surface is framed. The narrowing side of the ring holds four horizontal lines on each side. Its central part is separated by a line, with one side having a stylized lily, with a tree of life growing out of it, while the other side has a lily flower shaped to resemble a star, which in earlier examples used to be represented as a cross. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its length was 2.2 m, its width varying between 60–70 cm, and its corners were slightly rounded. There were no annexes. Grave no. 11 had been buried on top of it, its legs had been cut through by no. 53. This grave had destroyed graves no. 1 and no. 2.

Grave no. 31: trench 3, D: 478.34 m, O: 327°, A: child aged under 12, Sl: 1.27 m, C: 17th century. The skeleton's bones were preserved in good condition, with the skull being cracked

and tilted toward the left. The hands were slightly stretched forward and placed over the pelvis. Its filling was grey, compact, clayey, and was mixed. There was no coffin, with the position of the skeleton (huddled position) suggesting that the body had been buried wrapped in a shroud. The filling also yielded two coffin nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.8 m, its width at the head was 1 m, and at the legs 0.7 m. There were no annex objects. It partially disturbed no. 8.

Grave no. 32: trench 2, D: 478.92 m, O: 254°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. Only the right femur and the two shin bones were left of the averagely preserved skeleton. Its upper half had been destroyed by plowing. Its filling was yellowish brown, clayey, compact, containing patches of humus. During the excavation we also found a coffin nail, but there were no annex objects, and the outline of the grave could not be distinguished. It cut through no. 1, and was presumably buried at the same time as no. 10.

Grave no. 33: trench 2, D: 479.2 m, O: 324°, A: adult elderly female, Sl: 1.5 m, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated completely, the skull was found tilted to the right, and the bones were preserved in good condition. Some of the bones had been dislocated by the roots of the nearby tree. The right arm was placed over the pelvis while the left was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was yellowish grey, loose, containing patches of clay, humus, and was mixed. The coffin boards were well preserved, and two nails were found during excavation. It had been buried inside the pit of no. 54. There were no annex objects. Grave no. 12 was buried on top of it, and it had partially disturbed no. 42.

Grave no. 34: trench 2, D: 479.59 m, O: 343°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. Only the bottom of the right femur, and the two shin bones were preserved, with the upper body being destroyed. Its filling was greyish, compact, contained patches of clay, and was mixed. During the excavation we found a broken, flat headed nail. The outline of

the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no annex objects. The top part had been disturbed by graves 56 and 57.

Grave no. 35: trench 2, D: 478.45 m, O: 317°, A: adult female, Sl: 1.49 m, C: 19th century. The skull of the well preserved skeleton was tilted toward the right and the arms were stretched out alongside the body. Its filling was grey, contained schist, patches of humus, and was mixed. The coffin planks were well preserved, and we also found 18 large 6 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm), forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length was 1.9–2 m, and its width 0.8 m. The phalange of the right hand yielded a copper Kreutzer, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.4 cm (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). The grave holding the three children, 19, 25, and 26, had been buried on top of it, being positioned one meter above it. It cut through graves 53, 1, and 15.

Grave no. 36: trench 2, D: 479.45 m, O: 285°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. The child's skeleton was preserved in average condition, the skull was cracked, and a part of the vertebrae and ribs had decomposed completely. Only the upper body was excavated, with the rest being found outside the excavation trench. Its filling was loose, greyish, contained rocks, and was mixed with humus. The outline of the grave was discernable here and there. During the excavation, the lid of the coffin was found to cover the entire grave, and we also found 18 large 6 cm long, round headed (diameter 2 cm), forged coffin nails. Two cast bronze, flat surfaced buttons were found at the right upper arm, with their outer edges narrowed, and with the fastening hinges broken off the back (diameter 1.6 cm). It had cut through graves 27 and 37.

Grave no. 37: trench 2, D: 479.53 m, O: west-east, Sl: could not be determined, C: 17th century. Only the hand and the phalanges remained. Its filling was grey, containing schist and patches of humus. There were no traces of a coffin as only a small section of the grave was

preserved. Inside the hand we found a Polish 1/24 silver Taler, minted in 1624, under Sigismund III, with a diameter of 1.8 cm. The grave had been destroyed by graves 36, 19, 25, and 26.

Grave no. 38: trench 5, D: 481.23 m, O: 270°, A: infans II, under 12 years, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The well preserved skeleton remained only from the waist up. Its lower half had been destroyed by the gravel extraction. The skull was tilted to the left and was cracked and the arms were bent to a right angle and placed over the stomach. Its filling was yellowish, loose, contained gravel, and patches of humus. During the excavation we also found a coffin nail. The outline of the grave could not be distinguished, as it was very close to the surface. There were no annexes.

Grave no. 39: trench 5, D: 480.2 m, O: 239°, A: infans I, Sl: 0.65 m, C: 16th century. The grave was preserved in average condition, the upper half was partially disturbed as grave no. 43 had been buried over it, but it remained intact bellow the pelvis. The bones of the upper body were only partially dislocated, with the lower part of the skull remaining in its original position. When the grave was disturbed, a silver coin minted in 1630–1638, under Ferdinand II (1619–1637), with a diameter of 1.4 cm (Unger 1980, 916, 65), was displaced to near the shoulder. The filling of the grave was yellow, containing gravel, humus, and was mixed, its outline could not be determined, and we did not notice any traces of a coffin. The phalange of the right hand, which had been placed over the pelvis, yielded a silver coin, minted in 1543, under Ferdinand (1526–1564), measuring 1.5 cm in diameter, and being in very good condition (Huszár 1979, 944, 144)

Grave no. 40: trench 5, D: 479.79 m, O: 298°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. The averagely preserved adult skeleton only had its right arm, vertebrae, femur, and the left shin bone remaining. The skull was found outside the excavation trench, and the grave had been partially disturbed by other graves. Its filling was grey, loose, contained humus, patches

of clay, and was mixed. The coffin planks were preserved over a larger area. The outline of the grave was visible only partially and there were no annexes. It had disturbed graves 28 and 48, it was buried on top of 58, and its right side was cut through by no. 46.

Grave no. 41: trench 2, D: 478.37 m, O: 261°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.62 m, C: 17th century. The entire grave was excavated, the skull was cracked and very damaged, and the left upper arm was missing. The damages were supposedly done by both the agricultural work that had been done in the area, as well as by the roots of the nearby tree. The arms were placed on the pelvis. Its filling was grey, containing humus and gravel, and it was mixed. We also found a bottom fragment of a 17th century pot, that had been burned in layers, shaped on a fast potter's wheel, and made with material that had been thinned with sand. The area of the left upper arm, which had been disturbed by plowing, yielded a copper Kreuzer, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), measuring 2.4 cm in diameter (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). Near the coin, also in the part that had been disturbed, we noticed the traces of textiles with green oxidization marks. The material had dense thread, was compact, and measured 1.3–1.4 cm in width. During excavation, we noticed its coffin nails over a larger area, these included four 8.5 cm long, flat headed, and twelve 7 cm long, round headed (diameter 1.5 cm), forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished well, its length being 2.05 m, and its width 0.65 m, it was being slightly cut through by grave no. 18. There were no annex objects.

Grave no. 42: trench 2, D: 478.87 m, O: 310°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.78 m, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated completely, the skeleton was in good condition, and the coffin had been placed in the ground on its side, the widest excavated section being only about 25 cm. The arms were under the pelvis. Its filling was greyish, loose, brownish, containing humus, and was mixed. The outline of the grave could be distinguished clearly, its length was 2 m, and its width 0.6 m. The coffin was

held together with 14 large 7 cm, round headed (diameter 2.5 cm), forged nails. During the excavation we found four small staples, also meant for holding together the coffin. One of them was narrow, 2 cm wide, and the rest were uneven, oval shaped. Their width was between 4.5–5 cm. Their ends were narrowed, and had been hammered into the planks while bent. The coffin boards were probably more than 2.5 cm thick, as the ends of the staples had not been bent after being driven through the wood. The lengths of the staples varied, being 7, 8, 9, 5, and 6 cm long. During the excavation we found seven flat, cast bronze buttons, their outer edges narrowed, the fastenings their backs were broken off, and their diameters were 1.6 cm. On the phalanges of the skeleton's left hand we uncovered 5 copper Kreuzers, minted in 1812, under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), (Unger 1980, 1405, 1403, 111, 112.). Each of them was highly corroded, and in poor condition. Two of them had denominations of three Kreuzer, and the other three of them of one Kreuzer. On the chest we also found the buttons that used to be attached to the clothes: one light blue, flat on one side, the other rounded on one side and made of glass, its ear was broken off (diameter 1.2 cm), two irregular shaped black glass buttons, also with the ears broken off (diameter 1.3 and 1.1 cm). The modern period, adult grave also contained large areas of skin in the area between the two femurs.

Grave no. 43: trench 5, D: 480.16 m, O: 293°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The grave had been almost entirely destroyed, only its pit remained, along with the bones of the lower arm. Its filling contained gravel, was loose, yellowish, and mixed. We did not notice any traces of a coffin on the small surface. It had been buried over no. 39, its top was most certainly cut through by no. 51.

Grave no. 44: trench 5, D: 480.66 m, O: 312°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the lower third of the left femur and the two shin bones were left, the rest having been destroyed by other graves,

which were found at lower depth. Its filling was yellowish, contained humus and a lot of gravel. There were no traces of a coffin, the outline of the grave could not be distinguished, there were not annex objects, and the missing parts were cut through by no. 50.

Grave no. 45: trench 5, D: 479.92 m, O: 250°, A: infans II, Sl: could not be measured, C: 15th–16th centuries. Only the lower left leg remained, with the tibia. The res had been destroyed, but the remaining bones were in good condition. There was no trace of a coffin, the outline of the grave could not be distinguished, and there were no annex items. The grave was cut through by 58, 48, and 40.

Grave no. 46: trench 5, D: 479.79 m, O: 299°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. Only the coffin planks were preserved, and the edge of the grave pit, with the bones having decayed completely. Its filling was grey, clayey, contained humus, and was mixed. The coffin had been fastened with four large, round headed, forged nails (diameter 1.8 cm and length 6.5 cm). It was cutting through graves 40 and 45, and it had been buried over no. 50.

Grave no. 47: trench 5, D: 481.1 m, O: 214°, A: iuvenis, Sl: could not be measured, C: 16th century. The skull of the otherwise good condition skeleton had been destroyed, with only the mandible remaining. The arms were raised over the chest and crossed. Its filling was yellowish, contained gravel, humus, and was mixed. There were no traces of a coffin, the edges of the grave were irregular, rounded, at its widest point it measured about 50 cm. In the area below the mandible, we found three cast bronze, flattened spheroid shaped buttons. Their tops were fitted with ears for fastening. The diameter of the buttons was 0.6–0.8 cm, with the ear measuring 0.5 cm, and the entire length of the object being 1.4–1.5 cm. During the excavation we also found thick, silvered metallic threads which were oxidized and fused with a tightly woven textile. The grave had been disturbed by no. 48.

Grave no. 48: trench 5, D: 480.53 m, O: 292°, A: infans II, Sl: 1.25 m, C: post 1710. The skull of the stretched out skeleton was cracked and tilted strongly to the left. The right hand was placed just above the pelvis, while the left hand was on the pelvis. Its filling was yellow, compact, containing gravel, and was mixed. During the excavation we found nine small headed 6.5–7 cm long forged nails, with the heads measuring 1.7×0.7 cm. The phalanges of the right hand yielded a good condition silver coin, minted in 1710, under Joseph I (1705–1711), with a diameter of 1.8 cm, the bottom of the coin had been pierced with a 0.2 cm wide hole. The grave had disturbed no. 47.

Grave no. 49: trench 4, D: 480.02 m, O: 261°, A: iuvenis, Sl: could not be determined, C: 16th century. The skeleton was in poor condition and the skull had been destroyed, with only the mandible remaining. The left side of the skeleton was missing entirely, while the other half only had a few ribs and long bones remaining. Its filling was grey, contained humus and rocks, and it was mixed. The outline of the grave could not be determined exactly. During excavation we uncovered 2 rectangular headed forged nails. Their length was 7.8–8 cm, their heads 1.5×0.8 cm. There were no annexes. The grave had disturbed no. 22 and no. 23.

Grave no. 50: trench 5, D: 479.31 m, O: 307°, A: adult, Sl: could not be measured, C: 19th century. The grave was excavated from the knees down, with the rest remaining outside the excavation trench. The long bones were in very poor condition and fractured. Its filling was grey, loose, containing schist, rocks and humus. During the excavation we found three round headed (2 cm wide) 6.5 cm long nails and 13 flat headed 7.5 cm long nails. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its width was about 60 cm. There were no annexes and it had cut through graves 44, 36, and 46.

Grave no. 51: trench 5, D: 479.39 m, O: 310°, A: adult, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th centuries. Only the northern section of the grave was excavated, with its southern part

remaining in the wall of the excavation trench. Only a part of a femur was left, with the rest of the bones having decayed completely. Its filling was grey, mixed, containing rocks, schist, and patches of humus. During excavation we found two 7.5 cm flat headed nails. The filling yielded a copper Kreutzer from 1812, minted under Emperor Francis II (1792–1835), with a diameter of 2.4 cm, which had been pierced (Unger 1980, 1405, 112). The grave had disturbed grave no. 16 and 43.

Grave no. 52: trench 5, D: 479.87 m, O: 301°, A: adult male, Sl: could not be measured, C: 17th century. The skull was partially destroyed, partially dislocated, with the mandible remaining in its original position. The entire right arm was missing, as well as the ankle and the phalanges. The left hand was pulled over the chest. A highly corroded, unidentifiable coin was found between the phalanges, which, based on its recognizable features could date to the 17th century (Matthias II). Its filling was grey, containing gravel, humus, and schist. During the excavation we found eleven 6–8 cm long, flat headed nails. The filling of the grave yielded a red copper belt buckle with a middle prong, which had been formed out of two semicircles into a pressed oval shape, with one end being turned straight. On this side the two pieces were also held together with red copper, and it even preserved a small leather sample between the two pieces. The piece had been originally shaped from a cylinder cross sectioned piece, by flattening the outer part. Its length was 5 cm, width 2.4 cm, the width of the two pieces 2.5 cm. The grave had been disturbed by no. 58.

Grave no. 53: trench 2, D: 478.43 m, T: 296°, A: infans I, Sl: 0.65 m, C: 18th century. The skull of the stretched out skeleton was cracked and flattened, the left femur was dislocated, and the phalanges were entirely decomposed. The arms were stretched out along the body. The outline of the grave was clearly distinguishable, its length was 85–90 cm. The body had been buried in a coffin, of which we found traces on a large area, as well as fourteen 6 cm long, large, round headed forged nails, with a

diameter of 2.5 cm. There were no annexes. The grave had disturbed no. 1 and 30, and it had been buried over no. 35.

Grave no 54: trench 2, D: 478.95 m, O: 147°, A: adult male, Sl: 1.65 m, C: 18th–19th centuries. The skeleton was in good condition, with the vertebrae and ribs only being slightly dislocated. The left arm was completely missing, and the right arm was bent over the pelvis. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, containing rocks, and humus. The coffin had four 7 cm long round headed nails (diameter 2 cm), and six 6 cm long flat headed nails. Graves 55, 33, and 12 had been buried into the pit of this grave, above the skeleton.

Grave no. 55: trench 2, D: 478.98 m, O: 325°, A: adult, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th century. Only the left lower arm remained, along with the phalanges. Given the fact that the left arm was missing from the previous grave, we cannot exclude the possibility that it originally belonged to that grave, but was severed and placed into this one. It was so close to the bones of no. 55 that it is difficult to imagine that this could be the result of the grave being disturbed, without any of the other bones disappearing.

Grave no. 56: trench 2, D: 478.83 m, O: 109°, A: infans I, Sl: could not be determined, C: 18th–19th centuries. The skull was crushed, the vertebrae and ribs had decayed completely, with only a few bones remaining. Its filling was greyish, loose, containing schist, and humus. We documented coffin boards and three sturdy round headed forged nails, with the heads measuring 2 × 4.5 cm in diameter. The outline of the grave was only discernable occasionally, because of the disturbances caused by other graves. Near the right hand we found a Kreutzer minted in 1790, under Joseph II (1768/1780–1790), with a diameter of 2.3 cm, (Unger 1980, 1337, 105). It had been buried on top of no. 57, and it cuts through no 34.

Grave no. 57: trench 2, D: 478.9 m, O: 280°, A: infans I, Sl: could not be determined,

A: 17th century. The shattered skull was partially destroyed, the skeleton's middle section was preserved, with the remaining bones being in good condition. As grave no. 56 overlapped it completely, and partially destroyed it, we could not establish with any certainty whether there was a coffin or not. The filling of the grave was grey, compact, clayey, containing patches of humus. During the recovery of the bones, we found a coin near the right hand, minted in 1678, under Leopold I (1657–1705), measuring 1.7 cm in diameter, perforated in the lower half with a 0.2 cm hole.

Grave no. 58: trench 5, D: 479.27 m,

O: 291°, A: adult, Sl: could not be determined, C: 19th century. We only found fragments of the skull, a few pieces of long bones, and rib fragments, the rest of the skeleton had decomposed completely. Its filling was greyish brown, loose, containing rocks, and patches of humus. The filling contained a silver coin minted in 1634, under Ferdinand II (1619–1637), (Huszár 1979, 1200, 182). The coffin had been held together with one 6 cm long round headed nail (diameter 2 cm), and four round headed (diameter 1–1.5 cm) forged nails. The outline of the grave could be distinguished clearly, and there were no annexes. It had disturbed graves no. 45, 40, and 52.

b. The internal chronology of the cemetery

During our survey we didn't notice any traces of a settlement near the mound, so during the excavation, any artifacts recovered, only indirectly suggested the age of the burials. During our excavation, we also recovered pottery fragments from the upper layers which had been disturbed. From inside trench 1, from a depth of 0.5–0.9 m, we recovered the bottom fragment of a 15th–16th century brownish pot that had been burned in layers, thinned with sand, and shaped on a fast potter's wheel. Inside trench 2, the disturbed grave filling yielded a grey colored, bottom and side fragments, of a 15th–16th century pot, that had been made on a fast potter's wheel and thinned with sand, as well as three brown side fragments of a pot that was also made on a fast potter's wheel, and thinned with sand, which were decorated with scratched grooves. The same filling also yielded a fragment of jug that had been made out of high quality clay, on a fast potter's wheel, and which had a coated surface, four fragments from the side of a 16th–17th century brown, greyish brown pot, that had been thinned with coarse sand, and the brown side fragment of a pan shaped stove eye, that had been made on a fast potter's wheel and thinned with sand.

In trench 3 we recovered four 15th–16th century, grey pot bottom and side fragments, made on fast potter's wheels, thinned with sand, seven brown, side and rim fragments of a

pot (the are beneath the rim and the side fragments had scratched grooves), made on a fast potter's wheels and thinned with sand. Trench 5 only yielded the two brown colored, bottom fragments of two separate vessels, dating to the 16th–17th centuries, made on fast potter's wheels, and thinned with sand and fine gravel.

Without these objects, determining the age of the grave would have been very difficult. As there were no buildings in the area and there was no stratification formed in the filling of the graves, we could not rely on these either. The color and features of the subsoil were inconsistent, and therefore inappropriate for comparison. Furthermore, we couldn't use the depths of the graves for dating. As the cemetery was found on a mound, considerable differences could emerge in terms of depth, even within the same grave, not to mention between the graves found on top of the mound and those found at the bottom.

The orientation of the graves also didn't help a lot in establishing a wider chronology, as the graves were not adjusted in relation to a building, but instead, according to the position of the rising sun, which would change from season to season. Presumably, gravesites were not marked prior to the 19th century, so earlier graves could not be used as references. When examining the map of the cemetery, in some case we can distinguish certain groups of graves, which generally have the same orientation. These had

been buried within a short time interval, when the traces of the recently dug gravesite were still visible on the ground. In the case of 19th century graves, we can also see that these had been marked and that in their cases the orientation

only varied by 45°. In the case of the 17th–18th century graves, we can also see graves with a reverse orientation (56, 54, 20, 17), (Fig. 12), with the difference between the earliest graves being about 123° at most.

turn of the 15 th –16 th centuries	16 th century	17 th century	18 th century	turn of the 18 th –19 th centuries	19 th century
1–301°	5–240°	10–290°	28–280°	18–299°	12–330°
4–220°	6–291°	11–280°	48–292°	51–310°	19–285°
2–337°	7–273°	17–105°	53–296°	54–147°	25–285°
3–248°	8–235°	20–144°		55–325°	26–285°
13–294°	9–281°	21–329°		56–109°	33–324°
14–294°	15–249°	34–343°			35–317°
22–239°	16–269°	31–327°			36–285°
23–283°	24–278°	41–261°			40–298°
44–312°	27–256°	37– n.m.			42–310°
45–250°	29–276°	43–293°			46–299°
	30–250°	52–301°			50–307°
	32–254°	57–280°			58–291°
	38–270°				
	39–239				
	47–214°				
	49–261°				

The orientation of the graves dated with the help of artifacts and superpositions (Fig. 16).

The analysis of the superpositions, the grave pits, and the coffins, helped considerably with the dating. We elaborated on these in our separate description of each grave, so we won't repeat it here.

Burials with coffins started to appear in Székely Land in the 14th–15th centuries. Grave no. 28, found in Cristuru Secuiesc, which was dated with the help of a coin minted under Louis I of Hungary, no doubt suggests this.⁴² During the excavation of the medieval church ruins in Ulieș, they were proven to also exist in the

15th century,⁴³ however, they only became widespread during the 16th century.⁴⁴ Prior to this, the dead were wrapped in a shroud and placed so in shallower graves. We found such remains in several cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei. We observed the obvious traces of a burial shroud in grave no. 15, in Sântimbru, where during the excavation, we documented the traces of dark brown, carbonized organic material under the skull.⁴⁵ We also detected organic materials in Văleni, in graves 65–66, during their excavation.⁴⁶ In a few cases in Mugeni, we showed directly as well as indirectly that the dead were buried in shrouds.⁴⁷ In the case of Orășeni, we

⁴² BENKŐ 2012, 155.
⁴³ DERZSI-SÓFALVI, 2008, 272.
⁴⁴ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 260.
⁴⁵ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 170.
⁴⁶ NYÁRÁDI 2015.
⁴⁷ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 260.

did not find similar remains, but the position of the bones suggested the existence of a shroud in two separate cases. In the case of grave no. 8, the outline of the grave was not distinguishable, however, based on the raised arms and the position of the shoulders, we can be certain that the body was buried wrapped in a shroud. The outline of grave no. 31, the one holding in its northern corner the remains which had been wrapped up, was clearly visible. While grave no. 8 belonged to an earlier layer, grave 31 was dated to the 17th century. The forged nails present in its filling seem to suggest that some sort of wooden structure was covering the body.

During the detailed analysis of the graves, with the exceptions of the two already mentioned, 13 graves had no visible trace of coffins. From among these, graves 21 (Fig. 13) and 47 were dated, using other methods, to the 16th–17th centuries, while the rest (1, 2, 3, 6, 13, 14, 22, 23, 39, 44, 45) belonged to the oldest section of the cemetery (15th–16th century). Because of their depths and the extent to which they had been disturbed, the grave outlines could not be determined with precision, however, most of them contained the oldest annex objects found in the cemetery. Furthermore, these were the graves that had been most disturbed by other, more recent graves.

One of the oldest coffins found in the cemetery came from grave no. 24, where the right hand was holding a silver coin minted under Vladislaus II. We also found coffin nails alongside the traces of planks. In several cases (4, 7, 30), the 16th century burials didn't have any nails, with the coffins being held together with wooden pins or joining (Fig. 14). Coffins without any forged nails were also found in the 17th century (37, 41, 57), being documented even in cases as recent as the 19th century (40). In the case of a grave dated to the 18th century (28), the

coffin boards had also been strengthened with three iron staples. The pointy end of the staple had been bent backwards to hold it in place, and this shows us the thickness of the boards, in this case 2.5 cm. In the case of another grave, dating to the 19th century, four staples had been used for strengthening the coffin. As the ends were not bent backwards in this case, we can assume that the boards were thicker than 2.5 cm.

The manner in which the graves were buried, and their locations, seem to suggest family ties. This becomes obvious when the deceased are placed in shared graves pits, and occasionally, even in shared coffins. In the case of our cemetery, one of the most exemplary cases can be found among the more recent graves. In the north-eastern corner of trench 2, we documented three skeletons in one grave. The lowest one, no. 53, belonged to an adult male, who had an adult female buried over him (no. 35), who in turn, had another adult male (no. 12) buried over her (Fig. 15). Also belonging to the cemetery's later stages was the triple grave belonging to no. 12, 25, and 26, who had all been buried in separate coffins but in a common grave. The children had presumably passed away during an epidemic. Based on the depth and the position of the grave, no. 5 and 29 had also been buried together, sometime during the 16th century. Besides these, we have documented only one other shared grave. This was in the case of the 16th–17th century grave of a woman (no. 13), who was buried holding her newborn child (14).

By using the different dating techniques and connections, we established that the cemetery basically had two phases. The more exact determination of these couldn't have been done without the objects recovered from the filling of the graves and the other *in situ* materials we discovered.

c. Finds

The burials at Orășeni can be considered quite rich when compared to church cemeteries dating from the same period. Out of the 58 excavated graves, 23 contained some type of

annex object, and we also found other valuable objects in secondary positions, originating from the disturbed graves.

COINS

During the excavation we identified a total of 29 coins, which had made establishing the internal chronology of the cemetery a lot easier (Fig. 17). 24% of them (7) had been perforated, which

suggests that they were worn strung to clothing. Many of them showed signs of ware, suggesting that they had been in use for longer periods, which makes the dating timeframe be even wider.

No.	Grave no.	Position	Issuer	Dating	Condition
1.	15	filling	Matthias I	1489–1490	perforated
2.	23	destroyed phalanges	Matthias I	1489–1490	average
3.	24	right hand	Vladislaus II	1490–1516	perforated
4.	20	filling, chest	Ferdinand I	1530–1531	average
5.	39	right hand	Ferdinand I	1543	average
6.	15	left hand	Ferdinand I	1559	average
7.	5	left hand	Rudolph	1579	average
8.	52	left hand	Matthias II	?	fragment
9.	10	right hand	Matthias II	1615	average
10.	37	hand	Sigismund III of Poland	1624	average
11.	58	filling	Ferdinand II	1634	average
12.	39	filling	Ferdinand II	1630–1638	average
13.	10	filling	Ferdinand III	1657	highly corroded
14.	20	filling	Michael of Poland	1669–1673	perforated
15.	57	right hand	Leopold I	1678	perforated
16.	48	right hand	Joseph I	1710	good, perforated
17.	20	filling	Charles III	1712	average
18.	56	right hand	Joseph II	1790	average
19.	51	filling	Francis I	1812	perforated
20.	51	filling	Francis I	1812	average
21.	41	filling	Francis I	1812	perforated
22.	26	filling	Francis I	1812	average
23.	35	right hand	Francis I	1812	average
24.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
25.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
26.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
27.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
28.	42	left hand	Francis I	1812	fragment
29.	12	left hand	Franz Joseph	1861	good

The coins discovered during the archaeological excavation (Fig. 17)

When the coins were found as annex objects, they were always in either the right or left hand of the deceased. The earliest ones were minted under Matthias I, in 1489–1490, and were found in secondary positions. One of them came from a disturbed grave, from between

the phalanges of a skeleton (23), and the other from the filling of a grave (15) dating to the 16th century. Chronologically, next came the silver coins from the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, minted under Vladislaus II, which were recovered as annex objects (24). This was followed by four 16th century, eight 17th century, coins as well as one from the beginning of the 18th century (1710). The 1712 coin tied to the name of Charles III of Hungary was recovered from the disturbed layer of a grave filling (20). With all certainty, this is the last find that can be tied to the cemetery's first stage. We don't have any coins from the greater part of the 18th century. Considering how well the earlier 17th century was covered, we can safely assume that there were no burials during this time. Additionally, we don't have any other types of finds

from this period either.

The second phase of the cemetery began after 1790, or at least this is what the coin minted under Joseph II, found in grave 56 seems to suggest. Following this, the coins are continuous up to 1861 (no. 12), after which no more burials were made in this location.

Several of the 39 graves belonging to the cemetery's first stage showed signs of having been buried in rich clothing. The ones dating to the 16th century stand out amongst these in terms of the graves themselves and their artifacts, as these contained elements of clothing, hair accessories and even jewelry. We elaborated on the finds in our section covering the descriptions of the graves, so we will focus next on their implications and analyze their spatial and temporal statuses.

PEARLED HEADDRESS

The headdress objects recovered from child grave no. 6 are unique among the inventories of cemeteries found in the Seat of Odorhei. No organic material was left of the bearer of pearled headdress found on the crushed skull. The 132 pearls that were found included high quality solid, double pearls, shaped from pulled glass tubes, made out of dark blue, white, or light blue colored glass paste, as well as larger, blue, dark blue, and one light blue pearl (Fig. 18). The button like object, carved from bone, which we uncovered during the excavation of the skull, probably served to fasten the two ends of the headdress.

Inside no. 17, which also belonged to a child, the excavation of the partially disturbed skull revealed traces of dark colored textiles. The threads were silvered, presumably being part of a headdress or corolla, with the rest of the object having been destroyed.

Based on the inventories, Radvánszky concluded that girls only wore front headdresses or corollas.⁴⁸ Two types of round headdresses are known, the narrow forehead band, and the wider pearled headdress. Our find belongs to this second category, which, according to existing data, was found mostly in the graves of young girls.⁴⁹ Based on the parallels that were restorable in Hungary,⁵⁰ their support was made out of bas fiber, which was covered in some type of fabric, the edges being lined with trimmings. The flat areas were decorated with pearls, silver rolls, yarn buttercups, and metallic rolls.⁵¹

The closest, similar pearled example, in the Seat of Odorhei, was found in the church cemetery in Brădești, where no. 49, a child's grave, yielded fragments of two types of glass pearls and metal wire fragments, as well as pieces with semi-precious stones fitted in casein glue beds.⁵² We documented a pearled headdress during the

⁴⁸ RADVÁNSZKY 1896, 229.

⁴⁹ VADAY-HANCZ 2002, 65.

⁵⁰ Ex: the headdresses recovered from the cemeteries in Bácsmonostorszeg, Kaszaper, Kide, Mezőkovácsháza, Szada, and Tiszaörvény.

⁵¹ WOLF-HORVÁTH 2010, 160–162.

⁵² The results of the excavation are still being processed.

excavation of the church in Mugeni, in grave no. 139, where it had been fitted on leather. Discoloring was also observed on the skull of no. 144. The traces of similar 2.5–3 cm wide headdresses were also uncovered in graves 190 and 171. Unfortunately most of these had been preserved in very poor condition, with only the

imprint of the metallic material being noticeable in some cases.⁵³ The skull in grave no. 152 in Avrâmești, had 45 dark pearls on a 12 cm long, 1.7 cm wide base.⁵⁴ A similar headdress was uncovered in grave no. 122 in Tomești, and dated with the help of silver Dinars minted under Rudolph and Maximilian.⁵⁵

HAIRPIN

The unique character of the headdress found in Orășeni is due to the two hairpins with pierced silver filigree ornaments. Both pins are based on an elongated thin hemispherical plate. One of them has the bottom closed with a straight plate, with a hole in the middle, for the pin. The other one is missing this part, however, based on its shape we can assume it had a similar fastening mechanism (Fig. 19).

Similar straight pins were used in the veil covering the head, during the 16th–17th centuries. We didn't find any parallels to these in the church cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei, or in Székely Land. They are quite rare even in Transylvania, being found mostly in treasure hoards. 16th century chest and belt broaches made with similar techniques, with wire filigrees, are known from the treasure hoards in Aiud and Sighișoara.⁵⁶

Most recently, our available data on these filigree jewels was compiled by Dóra Mérai, who mentions 18 sites where such objects were found in the territories of medieval Hungary, five of which were in Transylvania, and one in Partium.⁵⁷ The earliest finds were uncovered in

1882 in Huedin. The treasure hoard made up of mainly Gábor Bethlen coins, included six silver hairpins, which had been created in Transylvanian workshops.⁵⁸ In 1904, a treasure hoard found in a mound near Baia Mare also included a gilded silver hairpin. Most of the pin itself was missing. The treasure hoard was composed mainly of coins minted in 1555 and 1564.⁵⁹ In Vișuia, in 1973, four gilded silver filigree hairpins were uncovered during agricultural field work.⁶⁰ They also showed up among the displayed artifacts at Râșnov Castle, in nearby Saxon Land.⁶¹ Besides these we are also aware of a 17th century example, with wire ornaments, and enameled inclusions, which had supposedly been made in Transylvanian workshops, but, with the location where it was found being unknown.⁶²

The first piece uncovered during an archaeological excavation was found at Vințu de Jos. Its pin had been bent backwards, so it had been used not as a hairpin, but instead, as a clothing accessory.⁶³ As the annex object of a grave, it was first identified in the cemetery in Carei–Bobald, in 1966, when six separate graves yielded a gilded hairpin each, recovered from near the

⁵³ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 262.

⁵⁴ BENKŐ 1992, 236.

⁵⁵ BOTÁR 2005, 51.

⁵⁶ KOLBA 1990, 185–189.

⁵⁷ MÉRAI 2010, 59–65.

⁵⁸ CIPĂIANU 1973, 653–663.

⁵⁹ MIHALIK 1906, 119, Fig. 4.

⁶⁰ TELCEAN 1976, 209–210.

⁶¹ Undisclosed material. Regarding the excavations see RUSU 2008, 241, 254.

⁶² ÖTVÖS NAGY 2011, 211.

⁶³ RUSU 1998, 36.

skull.⁶⁴ During the 1994 excavation, another pin was found.⁶⁵ During the 1983–1985 excavation of the 90 graves, at the ruins of the St. John Church, found near Csenger, not far from Carei, Béla Varga uncovered additional richly decorated hairpins, some of which also had gilded wedge stone inlays.⁶⁶

These hair accessories also appear in treasure hoards found on the territory of Hungary. Three straight pins, with spheroid heads, were uncovered in Tolna. Two of the pin heads had been made in fours, by weaving notched wire and had also been gilded. The head of the larger pin is decorated with two garnets held in claw sockets, and two silver pearls. The lower part of the spheroid head of the silver hair bun needle is smooth, while the upper half of the spheroid is decorated, the two being separated by a braided wire. The inwrought circle shaped decorations, and the squares found inside the circles are framed with braided wire filigree, with the remaining surface being covered in fine granulation.⁶⁷ The two hairpins found in Drégelypalánk were dated to the 16th century,⁶⁸ while in Tamáslaka (Tomaševac), in 1894, a treasure hoard also included four hairpins with floral motifs.⁶⁹

During the excavation of the medieval cemetery in Kaposvár, similar finds were uncovered inside the graves. On this occasion, other types of pins were also uncovered: grave no. 772 yielded two gilded silver pins and a smaller

bronze pin, grave no. 773, alongside the one silver and two gilded objects, also yielded seven smooth bronze pins, while grave no. 807, yielded one with a lead head and three smooth bronze pins.⁷⁰ In the cemetery in Kide, they were found on the two sides of the skull in grave no. 104.⁷¹ In the cemetery in Kaszeper, grave no. 407, yielded two hairpins on each side of the skull, which were dated using a coin minted under Ferdinand I.⁷² Grave no. 4 in Balatonszőlős yielded a hairpin as an annex object, which was dated using a coin minted in 1535.⁷³ This type of object was also uncovered in several smaller scale cemetery excavations: Babócsa–*Bolhó*,⁷⁴ Damóc–*Temetődomb*,⁷⁵ Zobordarázs,⁷⁶ and Óföldséák.⁷⁷ The finds recovered from grave no. 67 in the cemetery in Katymár,⁷⁸ and the simple but highly fragmented examples from graves no. 72 and 85 in Zombor,⁷⁹ are not part of our typology. The types found at Igar,⁸⁰ Zalaszentgrót,⁸¹ and Bölcske,⁸² which were elongated, made out of bronze and with gilded surfaces, with alternating sphere and inlaid stone decorations, were also not included because of their shapes.

It also appears as a valuable in treasure hoards found in Moldova and Walachia. Similar ones were found, for example, in Brânceni (Teleorman County, RO) alongside Central European and Turkish coins, which dated to the middle of the 17th century.⁸³ All three hairpins were gilded. The fragment found at Dezghincea

⁶⁴ NÉMETI 1982, 172–173.

⁶⁵ NÉMETI 1995, 125.

⁶⁶ FÁBIÁN–PINTYE 2008, 19.

⁶⁷ LOVAG–NÉMETH 1974, 226, Fig. 6.6.

⁶⁸ KÖVÉR 1892, 33.

⁶⁹ KÖVÉR 1897, 247, Fig. 13.

⁷⁰ BÁRDOS 1987, 20–21.

⁷¹ KOVALOVSKY 1986, 21.

⁷² BÁLINT 1938, 161.

⁷³ LÁSZLÓ 1980, 116, 120.

⁷⁴ MAGYAR 1981, 62, 69.

⁷⁵ DANKÓ 1975, 116.

⁷⁶ RUTTKAY 1997, Fig. 8/4.

⁷⁷ BÉRES 2003, 190.

⁷⁸ WICKER–KÓHEGYI 2002, 87.

⁷⁹ KOREK 1989, 182–183.

⁸⁰ KULCSÁR 1998, 100.

⁸¹ KVASSAY 2002, 134.

⁸² SZABÓ–HAJDÚ 2015, 126–130.

⁸³ ȚĂNȚĂREANU 2012, 237.

(Republic of Moldova) was also gilded.⁸⁴

The mentioned parallels, even though they are similar to the ones found in Orășeni in terms of manufacturing technique and decoration, they are different in terms of how they were assembled. All of these were assembled from two hemispheres, while the ones found in Orășeni had been made from an elongated hemisphere

with a flat closure on the end. Despite the fact that the pin itself wasn't preserved in any of the cases, we believe the objects were used as hairpins. As one of the flat closures clearly had a hole in it, it is difficult to imagine that these could have been decorative components of the headdress itself.

CLOTHING CLASPS, BUTTONS, AND BELT BUCKLE

Certain finds that indicated clothing were also uncovered in the earlier section of the cemetery. The richest example of this appeared in grave no. 7, belonging to a young woman. During the excavation we saw that the entire upper body was discolored, presumably due to the silvered threads of the decayed clothing (Fig. 20). The clothes were fastened on the back by two small, heavily corroded hooks made of iron wire. Textile fragments were only preserved in the neck area, where dark colored threads, with metallic coating, were coiled up into 5–6 layers. This is where the 15 gilded silver buttons were attached, its lower part was shaped to form 12 points, with four small, solid beads, arranged in a pyramid shape, and decorated with granulations, found on its bottom. Its top ended in an ear meant for fastening, which had metallic threads woven through it (Fig. 21). We found the gilded buttons in a perpendicular position, following a circular neck line. Because of their position, we regarded them as being part of the decorations of the clothing. The remains of an almost identical set of clothes was identified in grave no. 1, inside a monastery in the Wallachian settlement Valea Mănăstirii (Argeș County). Traces of textile materials and gilded metallic threads were found in the chest and neck areas. The same areas also yielded a total

of 25 polyhedron shaped buttons, which were dated to the 16th century. The gender of the body could not be determined with certainty, but it did present male features. A golden signet ring was also uncovered as an annex object. In contrast, grave no. 2, certainly contained the remains of a man. In this case, traces of similar clothing was also identified. Material from a wolf-collar, strengthened with metallic thread, and with nine gilded buttons sewn into it, was well preserved in the neck area. As in this case the buttons only appeared in the neck area, it is possible that they had dropped into the clothing. In this particular case, the grave also contained a golden ring with a garnet.⁸⁵

Similar buttons were also found accompanying treasure hoards dated with 15th–16th century coins. They were uncovered in the Wallachian settlements Zăvoaia,⁸⁶ Sihleanu⁸⁷ (Brăila County), Căndești-Vrancea⁸⁸ (Vrancea County), and in the Moldovian settlement Zlătunoaia–Lunca⁸⁹ (Botoșani County). Similar finds were also uncovered in the Republic of Moldova in Musaitu, accompanied by 15th–16th and early 17th century coins.⁹⁰

The closest Transylvanian parallels to the ornamented button discovered in Orășeni, found as annex objects, are known from the excavations in Alba Iulia, where 25 of them

⁸⁴ <http://tezaure-medievale.cimec.ro/index.php/album-tezaure-medievale-din-colectiile-muzeul-national-de-antichitati-/gallery/12/itemPage/10/asInline?limit=1>. viewed on 21.02.2019.

⁸⁵ CRISTOCEA ET AL. 2014, 13–17.

⁸⁶ DRAGOMIR 1972, 71.

⁸⁷ DERGACIOVA ET AL. 2011, Fig. 8.

⁸⁸ BOBI 1980, 114–115.

⁸⁹ COROLIUC 1979, 354.

⁹⁰ DERGACIOVA ET AL. 2011, Fig. 9.

were found inside grave no. 9.⁹¹ More modest versions, mainly made from bronze, such as the ones uncovered in the cemeteries in Dombóvár or Kiskúnfélegyháza,⁹² can even be found in Hungary.⁹³ Silver spheres, assembled out of two hemispheres, but decorated with granulations, were uncovered in Tiszanána, in grave no. 82,⁹⁴ in Kecskemét, in grave no. 19,⁹⁵ and in Bölcske, in grave no. 34.⁹⁶

Thick, silvered metallic threads, bound together with tightly woven textile material through oxidization, were also found in the neck area of another young woman, also dated to the 16th century, in the cemetery in Orășeni. A button made of red copper, shaped like a flattened spheroid (Fig. 22–23) was found on the material, below the left side of the mandible. Similar, simple buttons are known from several late medieval Transylvanian cemeteries, such as

the ones in Sibiu,⁹⁷ and Brașov.⁹⁸

Two flat surfaced, cast bronze buttons were found at the right humerus inside grave no. 36, belonging to the cemetery's later stage. Seven similar buttons were found in the chest area in no. 42, accompanying a light blue and two black, glass buttons (Fig. 24).

In the filling of grave no. 52, dating to the 17th century, in secondary position, we found two fragments of a belt buckle, made from two semicircles and with a middle prong. The object had originally been hammered out of a cylinder shaped piece, by flattening one of the sides (Fig. 25). The two parts of the object were held together with a metallic band, which even happened to preserve a piece of leather inside of it. Similar types of belt buckles can be found dating to the 15th–16th centuries.⁹⁹

SIGNET RINGS WITH CARVED BEZELS

Four rings were found during the excavation in Orășeni. The only higher quality ring found in the Seat of Odorhei was the one found in grave no. 152 in Avrămești, a gilded bronze ring, with a green glass bead resting in a clawed socket.¹⁰⁰ As annex objects in graves, we mostly found wedding rings, like the ones in the cemetery in Mugeni, in graves no. 137 and 144, on the left hands,¹⁰¹ and in Văleni, where only fragments were found lying in secondary positions.¹⁰² We only documented a signet ring found on the right phalanges of the body found in grave

no. 61, in the cemetery from the first half of the 17th century, found in Teleac.¹⁰³ In Orășeni, one of the oldest rings was found on the phalanges in grave no. 8 (Fig. 26). In terms of typology, it belongs in the group of rings decorated with geometric patterns, which are rarer than other types. Their features include a diamond shaped bezel, with its four sides decorated with pressed or carved grooves. This type of decoration appears in the 13th century and is still in use during the 15th–16th centuries.¹⁰⁴ From an archaeological perspective, the closest parallel

⁹¹ PÓSTA 1918, 72.

⁹² BÁLINT 1956, 80.

⁹³ GAÁL 1982, 223.

⁹⁴ PARÁDI 1995, 171.

⁹⁵ BICZÓ 1976, 343.

⁹⁶ SZABÓ–HAJDÚ 2015, Table 3, 1.

⁹⁷ MARCU 2007, 105–106.

⁹⁸ MARCU 2015, 175.

⁹⁹ HORVÁTH 2016, 96.

¹⁰⁰ BENKÓ 1992, 236.

¹⁰¹ NYÁRÁDI 2013, 289.

¹⁰² Unpublished, still ongoing excavation executed by the Haáz Rezső Museum.

¹⁰³ NYÁRÁDI–SÓFALVI 2009, Fig. 4.3.

¹⁰⁴ LITAUSZKI 2012, 21.

to the annex object from the 16th century grave, was found using a metal detector in Rotbav.¹⁰⁵

In grave no. 7, which was dated to the 16th century based on the clothing elements and the gilded silver buttons, the phalanges of the right hand, yielded a silver ring, which had been cut from a silver sheet, was hollow, and had eight corners. The hollow band had also been shaped out of thin silver sheet, and it was found broken. The bezel had Renaissance decorations, inside a heraldic shield, showing three flowers in a vase (Fig. 27–28). A very similar ring, dating to the 16th century, is known from the fortress at Bajcsa-Vár.¹⁰⁶ The flower motif was also widely preferred on stove tiles in the Seat of Odorhei.¹⁰⁷

We counted an additional two rings recovered from disturbed graves. A silver ring with an oval shaped bezel was found on the phalanges of a child skeleton in the filling of grave no. 17, which dated to the 17th century. The two endings forming the band had been hammered together. We couldn't identify any imagery on the worn bezel, and presumably there wasn't one (Fig. 29). Another worn, slightly cracked ring was recovered from the filling of grave no. 30, dated to the 16th century, which had disturbed graves no. 1 and 2. This was a bronze cast signet ring, slightly

cracked, covered in green oxidization, with an oval bezel measuring 1 × 1.4 cm, band measuring 2.1 cm, with the bottom part being sharpened and flattened at the joint (Fig. 30). In terms of typology, it belongs to the 15th–16th century group with lily and tree of life combination. The central motif on the oval surface is framed. The narrowing shoulders, on both sides, hold four horizontal lines. The middle part is separated by a dividing line. One side has a stylized lily with a tree of life, while the other shows a lily flower shaped to resemble a star, which in earlier examples used to be a cross.¹⁰⁸ Similar examples to this type of ornamentation were uncovered in grave no. 278 in Ópusztaszer–*Monostor*,¹⁰⁹ and in Muhi.¹¹⁰ An object with a divide along the middle, similar to the one found in Orășeni, was also uncovered in the medieval settlement at Mezőkovácsháza.¹¹¹

The described signet rings do not necessarily suggest rich, noble families, as by the 16th century, their use had become widespread,¹¹² so the wealthier market town inhabitants, peasants, and especially those involved in trade, even though they were members of lower social classes, they still required signet rings in order to conduct their transactions.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSIONS

In the Seat of Odorhei, border cemeteries, generally began to appear during the 17th century. This occurred not necessarily because of the Reformation, but more likely because the earlier church cemeteries had grown full. At the same time, they were also emerging according to the needs of newly

created parishes.¹¹³ The oldest identified border cemetery section was found in Tălișoara, where a total of nine graves were documented and dated using Gábor Bethlen coins found as annexes.¹¹⁴ Because the area is densely populated today, we were not able to determine the exact layout of the cemetery, so its age and

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.detectii.ro/descoperiri/inel-din-bronz/> viewed on 03.11.2019.

¹⁰⁶ KOVÁCS 2002, 135.

¹⁰⁷ BENKŐ–UGHY 1984, 19.

¹⁰⁸ LITAUSZKI 2012, 20.

¹⁰⁹ LITAUSZKI 2012, 130.

¹¹⁰ ÉRI–BÁLINT 1959, 58.

¹¹¹ LITAUSZKI 2012, 117.

¹¹² PARÁDI 1970, 230–231.

¹¹³ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 11–12.

¹¹⁴ DÉNES 1996, 203–208.

function are also unclear. The cemeteries at Keresztúrfalva,¹¹⁵ Cristuru Secuiesc,¹¹⁶ and Firtănuș¹¹⁷ are counted among those newly established. All three of them functioned during the 17th century. Cemeteries which are not accompanying a church are found in archives starting from the 17th century, and in greater numbers from the 18th century.¹¹⁸

The cemetery in Orășeni predates by far the similar cemeteries in the Seat of Odorhei. This is the only one that was opened before the Reformation gained ground. As our settlement was still subordinate to the church in Petreni, we may rightly ask ourselves who established it. If we analyze the village's toponyms, we can see that one of the creeks pouring into the Homorod from the left side, is called *Zsidó-patak* (meaning Jewish-Creek),¹¹⁹ and that the mound we excavated used to be called the *Jewish cemetery*.¹²⁰ Such names hold indirect significance with regard to social history.¹²¹

If we look in historical archives at the names of the families that lived in Orășeni, we will notice a foreign name appearing: *Lencz*. Pálmai noted regarding this family that they originated from northern Germany, and that they had moved here when German officers were being settled in Merești, Ocland, and in Crăciunel.¹²² We don't have any data suggesting when exactly this happened.¹²³ It is certain that when the settlement is first mentioned in writing, in 1566,

Péter, János, and Albert Lencz are mentioned as primipili serving in the army of King John II.¹²⁴ In 1602, István Lencz is mentioned as one of the four primipili swearing oaths of allegiance to the emperor.¹²⁵ By 1614, Miklós is mentioned from the Lencz family.¹²⁶ In 1627, his brother István was also presumably recorded.¹²⁷ During the following large scale military census in 1635, Miklós was noted as deceased, with his son Mihály serving in his place, and at the same time, István's son, Bálint was also recorded. A family branch represented by János is noted at this point, who was the grandson of the deceased Máté Ilyés.¹²⁸ Bálint is mentioned as being absent from the 1653 Moldavian campaign, having returned home with the sick.¹²⁹

By the end of the 17th century, the male branch of the family had died out. István's daughter, Kata, remained the sole heir, who became the wife of Ferenc Kénosi. She was still alive in 1693, as she is noted for having offered a table cloth as a gift to the parish.¹³⁰ By 1712, neither Kata, nor Ferenc were alive anymore, as the census only recorded the names of their sons.¹³¹ The memory of the now defunct family's name is still guarded by the toponym *Lencz Garden*.

Based on written archives, it is easy to imagine that a foreign family appeared in the village at the turn of the 15th–16th centuries, who opened their own cemetery, as they were not allowed to

¹¹⁵ BENKŐ 1992, 176.

¹¹⁶ BENKŐ 1992, 160, 164.

¹¹⁷ BENKŐ 1992, 76.

¹¹⁸ NYÁRÁDI 2012, 30–40.

¹¹⁹ VOFKORI 1998, 607.

¹²⁰ FERENCZI 1980, June 6th.

¹²¹ SZABÓ T. 1972, 164.

¹²² PÁLMAI 1900, 148. A settlement named Lenzen can be found in Northern Germany, in Vorpommern, as well as on the banks of the Elba.

¹²³ German colonists appearing in market towns in Székely Land are mentioned as early as the 15th century, for example in Târgu Secuiesc in 1427 (SzOKL I, 122.), and in Sfântu Gheorghe in 1492 (SzOKL III, 118.).

¹²⁴ SzOKL II, 196.

¹²⁵ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 103.

¹²⁶ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 300.

¹²⁷ SzOKL ú.s. IV, 730.

¹²⁸ SzOKL ú.s. V, 225.

¹²⁹ SzOKL ú.s. VI, 317.

¹³⁰ MOLNÁR B. 1999, 155.

¹³¹ PÁL-ANTAL 2009, 184.

bury their dead in the village cemetery. By the middle of the 16th century, this family already had *primipili* status, and had become completely integrated in the Székely community. The graves from the 16th century are the most numerous (16 graves), but they are also many from the 17th century. During this period, the mound's western side was used most often. The last child grave (no. 48) on this horizon was buried sometime after 1710.

During the 18th century few Romanian families appear in the village as serfs. Sources from the Seat of Odorhei mention that there were Romanians immigrants coming and going, not yet bound to a location through serfdom, mainly from the area of Făgăraș, especially after the end of the 16th century.¹³² Their numbers at this point are minimal and they are mentioned especially in the context of livestock theft.¹³³ They moved in larger numbers after the beginning of the 18th century, as a result of the wide scale depopulation of the area caused by the Kuruc freedom fight led by Ferenc Rákóczi II, and the several years of drought that followed.¹³⁴ In Orășeni, the earlier large noble estates created by the Kornis family were partitioned, so few Romanians settled here in comparison to other villages. In 1745, the numbers of serfs owned in the village were as follows: Dávid Kénosi owned two (Márton Antal, and István Balog), Zsigmond Kénosi owned four (Mihály Szász, János Biró, Márton Kusztura, András May), János Györki owned one (Mihály Szőcs), Baron Mózes Jósika owned two (István Jakab, István Szász), Dávid Bethlen owned one (András Doka), and Gábor Kendeffi also owned one (István Jobb).¹³⁵ The Greek Catholic inhabitants of Orășeni belonged to the church in Aldea starting from 1826, while

the Eastern Orthodox were listed as belonging to Drăușeni.¹³⁶ According to a 1761 census the number of Greek Catholics and Eastern Orthodox was 10 and 10, in 1826 there were 7 individuals (two families) belonging to the Greek Catholic faith, while in 1850, this number had risen to 21. According to the data from the national census of 1857 there were 4 Greek Catholics and 3 Orthodox, in 1868 2 Greek Catholics, in 1880 there are two families of each faith, while the following census only showed one of each, and by 1910, both faith had been fully absorbed.¹³⁷

The few Romanian families started using the earlier abandoned cemetery sometime during the second half of the 18th century, and used the mound's top predominantly. Two of the excavated graves date back to this period (28, and 53), five date back to the turn of the century (18, 51, 54, 55, and 56), with the remaining 12 (12, 19, 25, 26, 33, 35, 36, 40, 42, 46, 50, and 59) dating to the 19th century. This information matches the census data perfectly, as the number of Romanians in the village is the largest during the middle of the century. We don't know when exactly the cemetery was abandoned. The most recent coin is from 1861. According to the locals, even tomb stones are remembered to have once existed here, however, no trace of these remains today.

Because we have not excavated the entire surface of the cemetery, and we don't have even an approximate number for the graves that were previously destroyed, we cannot make any demographic estimations. Future bio-archaeological analyses (DNA, strontium-isotope) could shed more light on the origins and the family ties existing between those buried here.

¹³² HERMANN-KOVÁCS 1991, 158.

¹³³ SZOKL Ű.S. I, 59.

¹³⁴ PÁL-ANTAL 2008, 230.

¹³⁵ Romanian National Archive, Cluj County Directorate, Cluj-Napoca. Székely Lada. Fond M. 16. No. 35/11. January 7th 1745.

¹³⁶ HERMANN-KOVÁCS 1991, 171, 184, 187.

¹³⁷ VARGA E. 1998, 32–33.

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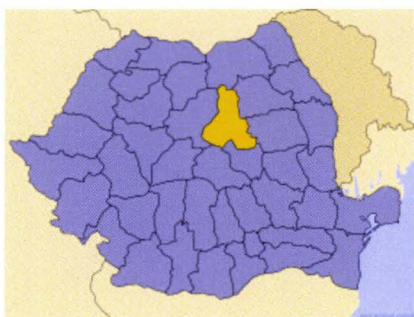
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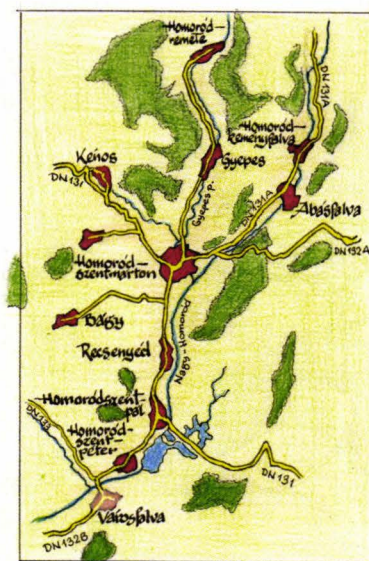
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3.



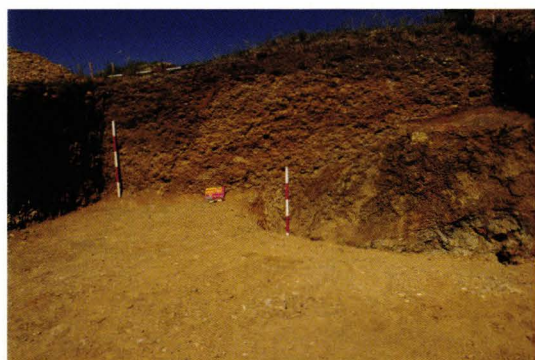
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2.



5.

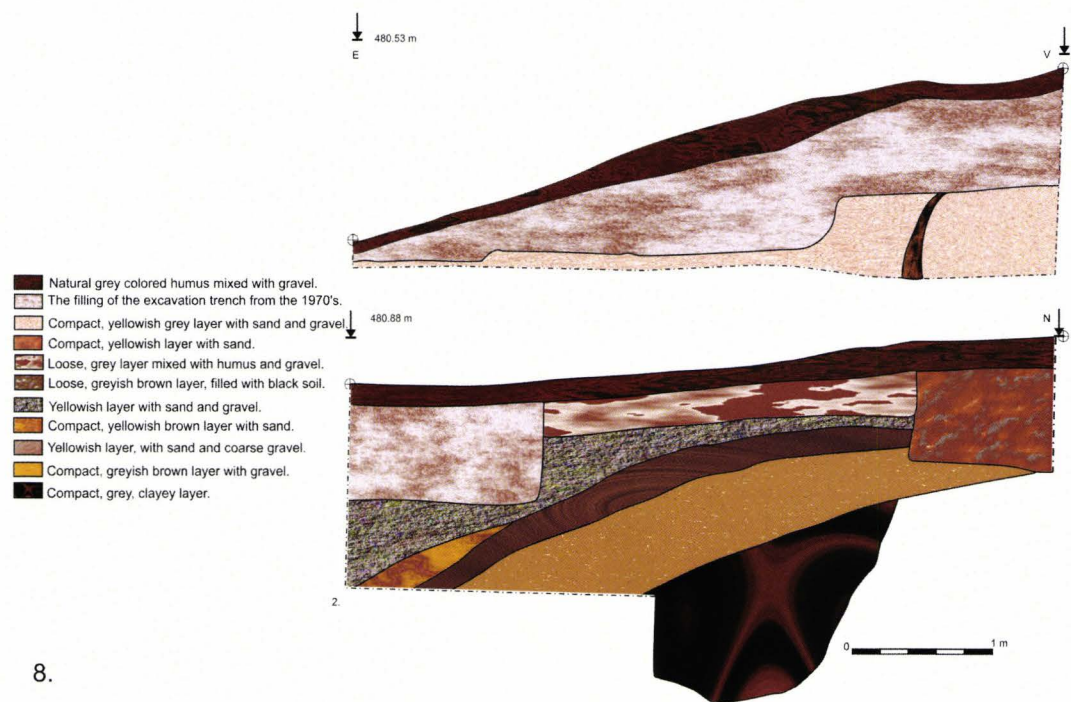


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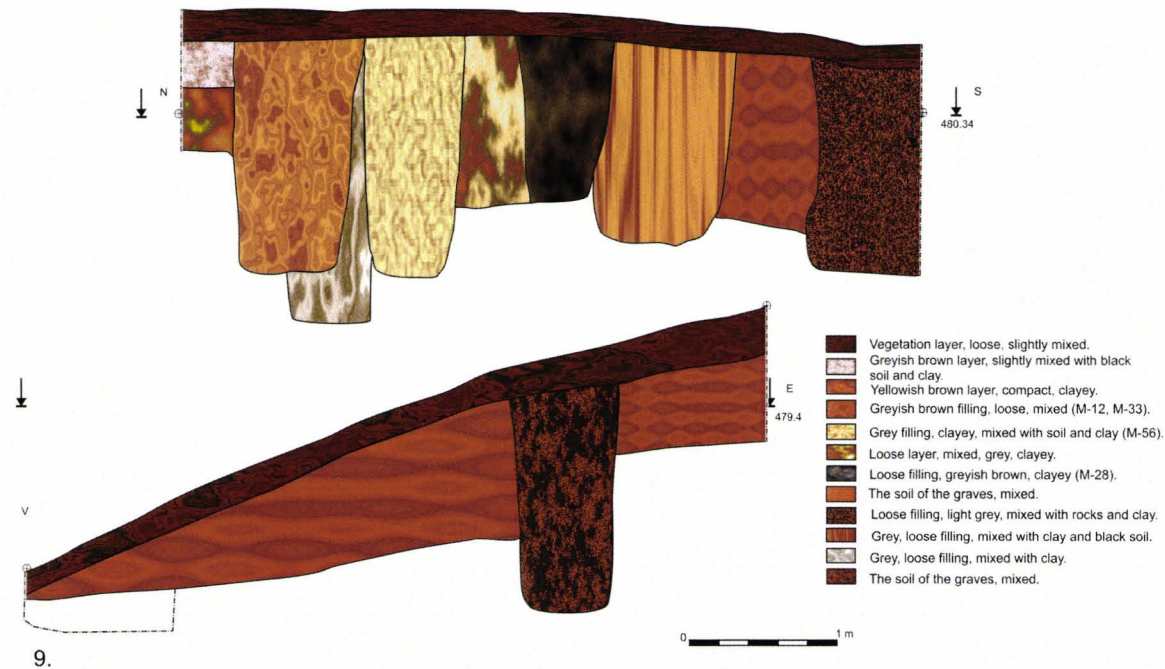


7.

1. Map of Romania, with Harghita County.
2. Map of Mărtiniș Commune with Orășeni (Drawn by János Gyöngyössi)
3. The 19th century cadaster map of Orășeni with the location of the cemetery marked.
4. Images captured by drone, with *Székelység* and *Kápolna domb* toponyms.
5. The original outline of the site with the excavation trenches on the topographical survey.
6. Trench 1 from a north to south direction.
7. Excavated trench 2 from the north.



8.



9.

8. The northern and southern profiles of trench 1.
9. The eastern and northern cross sections of trench 2.



10.



11.



12.



13.

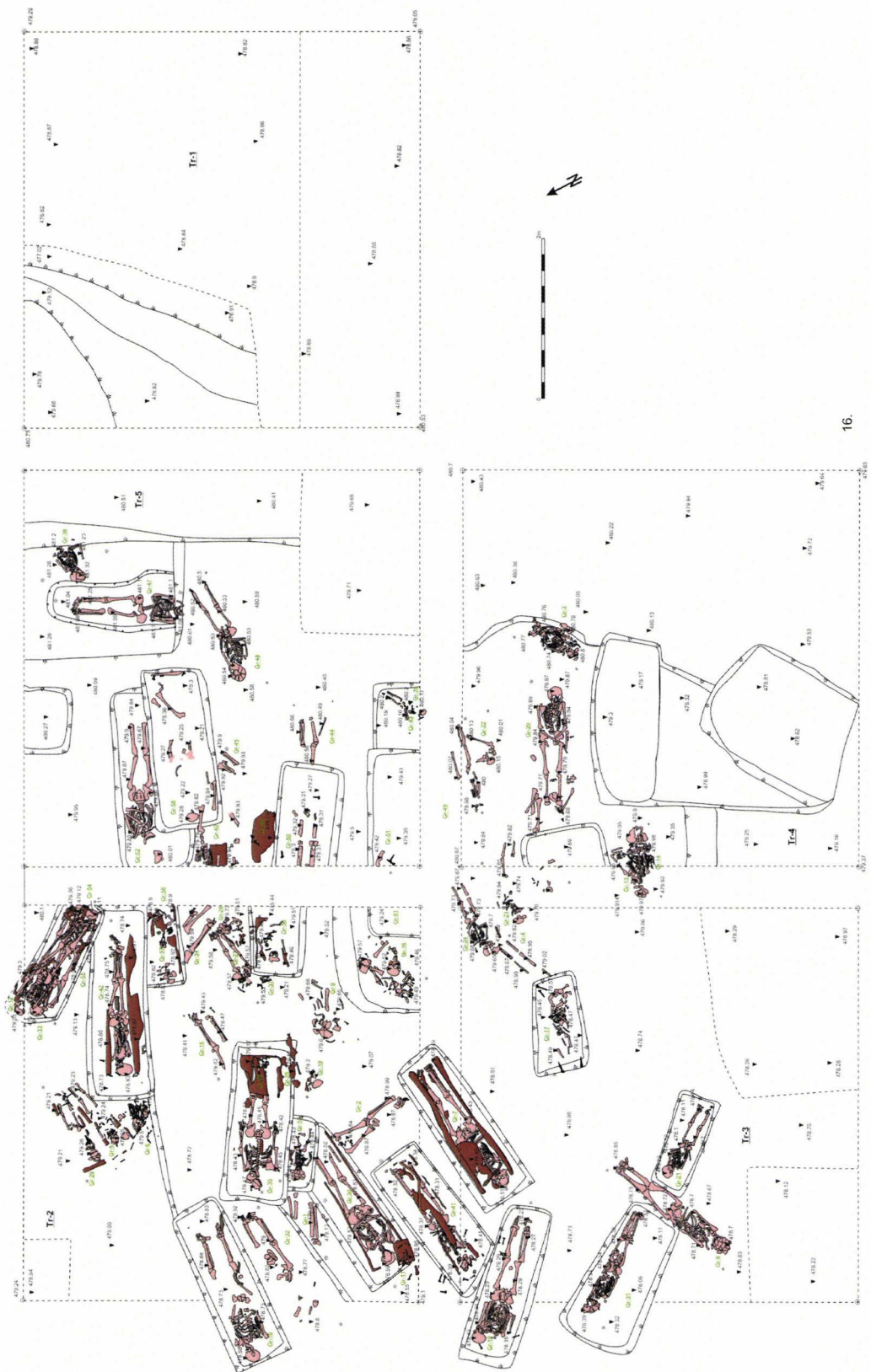


14.



15.

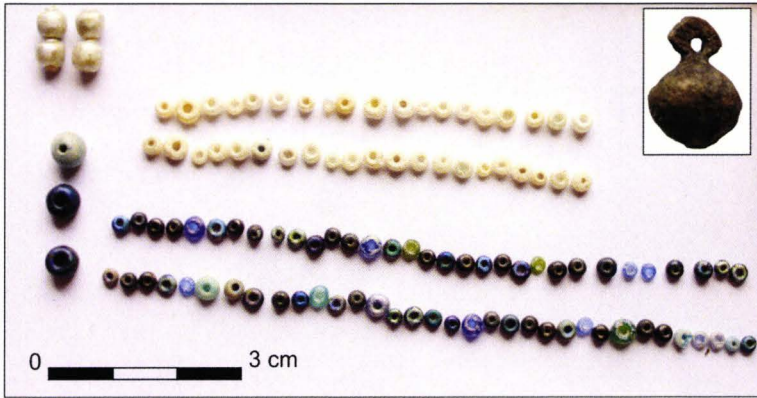
10. Trenches 2 and 3 during excavation.
 11. Excavated trench 4, from a southern perspective.
 12. The reversed orientation in the case of grave no. 20, found in trench 4.
 13. Grave no. 21 inside trench 3.
 14. Grave without coffin nails: trench 2, grave no. 30.
 15. The last grave on the superpositions (trench 2, grave no. 12).



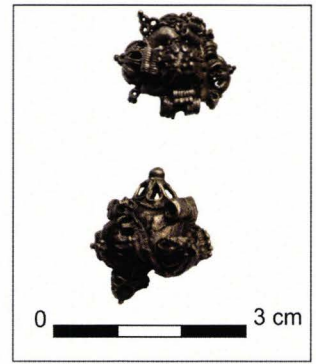
16. The summary drawing of the layout of the 2016 excavation.



17. 1. Grave no. 57, right hand, the coin minted under Leopold I, 2. Grave no. 56, Austrian Kreutzer, Joseph II, near the right hand, 3. Grave no. 48 the coin minted under Joseph I, 4. Grave no. 52, left hand, the coin minted under Matthias II, 5–9. Grave no. 42, the coin minted under Francis I, 10. Grave no. 41, right hand, the coin minted under Francis I, 11. Grave no. 37, coin minted under Polish king Sigismund III, 12. Grave no. 39, coin minted under Ferdinand I, 13. filling of grave no. 39, the coin minted under Ferdinand II, 14. Grave no. 35, the coin minted under Francis I. 15. Grave no. 24, King Vladislaus II, 16. The filling of grave no. 26, the coin minted under Francis I, 17. Grave no. 20. The coin minted under Michael I, 18. Grave no. 20, the coin minted under Ferdinand I. 19. Grave no. 12, coin from 1861, 20. The filling of grave no. 10, the coin minted under Ferdinand III, 21. Grave no. 10, the coin minted under Matthias II. 22. Grave no. 5, Coin minted under Rudolph. 23. Filling of grave no. 24, Coin minted under Matthias I. 24. Filling of grave no. 20. Coin minted under Charles III. 25. Filling of grave no. 51, coin minted under Francis II. 26. Filling of grave no. 15, coin minted under Matthias I. 27. Filling of grave no. 58, coin minted under Ferdinand II. 28. Filling of grave no. 51, coin minted under Francis I. 29. Grave no. 15, coin minted under Ferdinand I.



18.



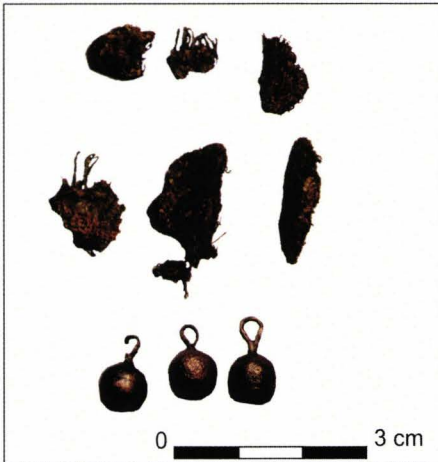
19.



20.



21.

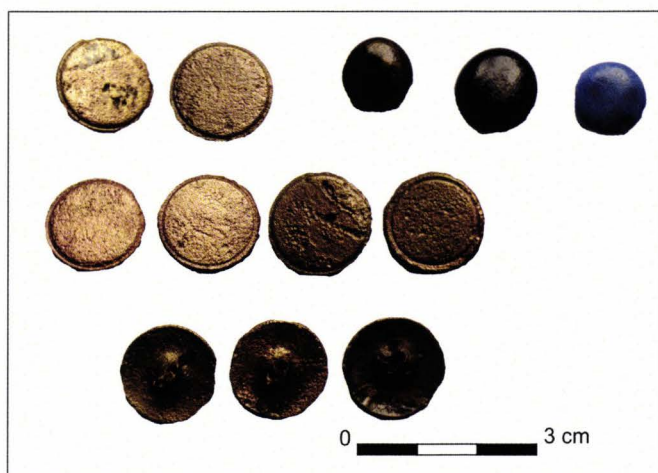


22.

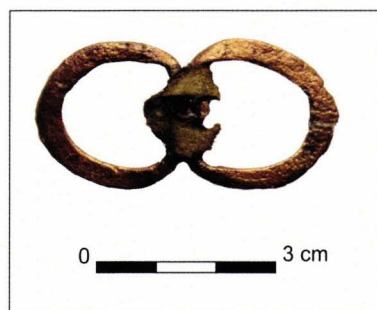


23.

18. The remains of a pearled headdress on the child's skull inside grave no. 6.
 19. Silver hairpins with inwrought decorations from near the skull in grave no. 6.
 20. Pigmentation on the chest area of the skeleton in grave no. 7.
 21. Gilded polyhedron shaped buttons and silvered threads from the neck area in grave no. 7.
 22–23. Textile remnants and yellow copper buttons from the neck area inside grave no. 47.



24.



25.



26.



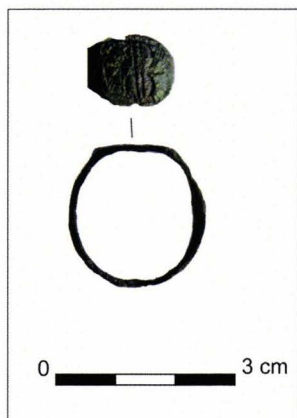
27.



28.



29.



30.

24. 19th century glass and copper buttons from graves no. 36 and 42.
 25. Belt buckle with middle prong from the filling of grave no. 52.
 26. Signet ring with geometric imagery carved into the bezel, from the phalanges in grave no. 8.
 27–28. Hollow silver ring with 8 angles, from the phalanges of the right hand in grave no. 7.
 29. Silver ring with bezel from the filling of grave no. 17.
 30. Cast bronze signet ring from the filling of grave no. 30.

Júlia BARA**

This paper presents the ecclesiastical patronage of Klára Károlyi in Sânpaul and her role in the ecclesiastical life of the locality, extending the context to include other similar activities undertaken by her which aimed to strengthen the dominant position of the Roman Catholic Church on her estates (e.g. Gheorghieni, Baktalórántháza). It also examines which were her methods and who were those persons which served for her as model and helped her in achieving her objectives.

Cuvinte cheie: patronaj ecleziastic, Klára Károlyi, Sânpaul, Sándor Károlyi, ordinul minorităților, Didák Kelemen

Keywords: ecclesiastical patronage, Klára Károlyi, Sânpaul, Sándor Károlyi, Minorit Order, Didák Kelemen

INTRODUCERE

Klára Károlyi (1697–1750), fiica lui Sándor Károlyi și Krisztina Barkóczy s-a născut în 1697. Încă nu împlinise vârsta de 13 ani, când, în 1709 a făcut cunoștință cu Gábor (III) Haller (1685–1723). S-au logodit un an mai târziu (fig. 1–2) și s-au căsătorit în 1711. Reședința lor principală a devenit castelul din Sânpaul (Kerelőszentpál, jud. Mureș), centrul domenal al familiei Haller (fig. 3–4). Ulterior, Klára a petrecut mult timp în Gheorghieni (Györgyfalva), lângă Cluj, moșie aflată de asemenea în proprietatea familiei Haller.¹ Primul act de patronaj bisericesc al ei a constituit ridicarea capelei din Sânpaul în anul 1713 drept capelă votivă; aceasta a fost transformată abia mai târziu în capela funerară a familiei Haller. În urma decesului timpuriu al soțului său, Gábor Haller, după 1723 văduva sa

se implică tot mai mult în viața bisericilor de pe moșiile sale. Activitatea sa vizează pe deoparte posesiunile sale, moștenite pe linie maternă, în comitatul Szatmár (Nyírbakta, Gelényes), iar pe de altă parte moștenirea fiilor săi (Sânpaul, Gheorghieni).

Acțiunile Klárei Károlyi au fost influențate în primul rând de propriile credințe religioase și de comportamentul similar al tatălui ei, Sándor Károlyi, dar și de relația sa strânsă cu ordinul minorităților (OFM), în special cu Didák Kelemen, capelanul tatălui său, un călugăr cunoscut de fervența sa misionară, cât și în calitate de întemeietor al mai multor mănăstiri, ales de două ori și în funcția de superior (provincial) al ordinului.²

Profunda ei devoțiune a fost determinată de educația catolică riguroasă, deși și-a arătat

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¹ RÁKOS 1975, 108; TAKÁTS 1892, 414; RÁKOS 1975, 133.

² Relația dintre Didák Kelemen și familia Károlyi este tratată mai detaliat de Éva Gyulai și Sándor Takáts. GYULAI 2008, 71–95; TAKÁTS 1892, 394–430, 535–561.



Fig. 1. Klára Károlyi
(Galeria Națională Maghiară, Budapesta)

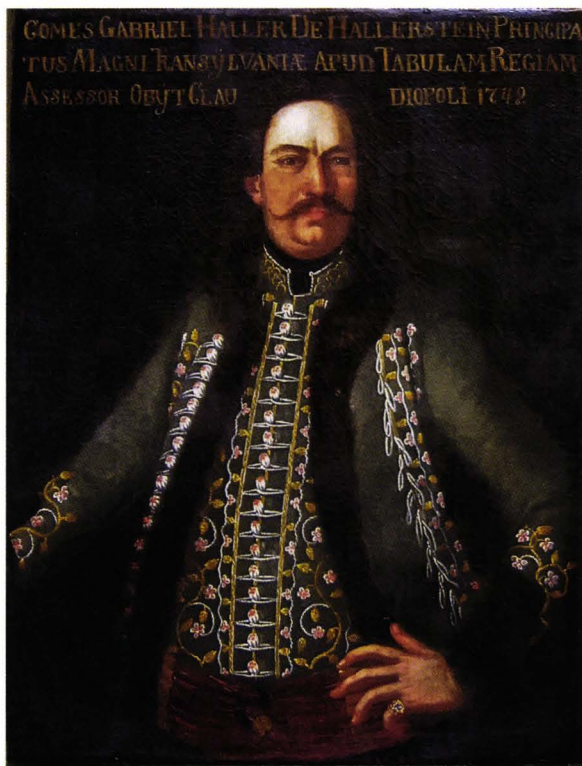


Fig. 2. Gábor Haller III, soțul Klárei Károlyi
(în proprietate privată)

caracterul încăpățânat și îndărătnic încă de la o vârstă fragedă. Într-o scrisoare mama ei, Krisztina Barkóczy scria despre Klára: „Mi-e și teamă de Dumnezeu din cauza ei”. Inițial a fost educată de mamă, apoi de bunica ei, Judit Koháry. Ulterior, i-a fost angajat drept profesor un preot din Olcsva, pomenit drept *pater Orbán*, care, conform corespondenței familiale, a încercat să o disciplineze.³

Gândurile sale religioase sunt oglindite și de corespondența sa. Se afirmă în mai multe rânduri că acțiunile sale și ale părintelui Didák au fost îndeplinite „pentru slava lui Dumnezeu”, cu scopul de-a răspândi religia catolică și de-a îngriji „sufletele sărace”, ceea ce considera ea, era „datoria lor creștină”. Doamna atribuie succesul

acțiunilor sale „ajutorului”, „milei” și „grației” lui Dumnezeu.⁴ Viața lui Didák și eforturile sale de consolidare ale bisericii erau privite drept un exemplu de urmat, astfel încât ea a fost prima care a inițiat în anul 1748 procesul de beatificare al acestui călugăr.⁵

Sinceritatea pietății sale rezultă și din faptul că, pe la sfârșitul vieții, în 1748, a intrat în ordinul terțiar, secular al ordinului franciscan, iar un an mai târziu, la Gheorghieni a depus și jurământul monahal. A decedat în același an, pe 26 septembrie. Conform dorinței sale, a fost înmormântată în cripta bisericii Sfântul Petru și Paul, aflată la periferia estică, numită Hóstát a Clujului, folosită din anul 1724 de minoriți.⁶

³ TAKÁTS 1892, 413–414.

⁴ Vezi scrisorile Klárei Károlyi P 398, No. 23687–24669, d.e. No. 24087, 24088, 24090, 24301, 24503.

⁵ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Imre Pál, superiorul provincial al ordinului franciscan. 2 mai 1748. BRÁZAY 1890, 11–17; TARNAI 1979, 44–50.

⁶ KÓHALMI 1944, 45–47.



Fig. 3. Castelul din Sânpaul în jurul anului 1647.
Foto Lóránd Kiss (în proprietate privată)



Fig. 4. Vederea satului Sânpaul dinspre nord-vest.
După Orbán 1871, 33.



Fig. 5. Capela votivă construită de Klára Károlyi.
Fotografie din „albumul Haller”, 1931.

SÂNPAUL, CAPELA FUNERARĂ ȘI CAPELA CASTELULUI

Cum am precizat anterior, prima dovadă a patronajului Klárei Károlyi o constituie construirea *capelei funerare a familiei Haller din Sânpaul*. Capela se află la marginea satului, pe dealul numit Kápolnahegy. Este adosată peretelui estic al cimitirului, înconjurată de un zid rectangular de cărămidă cu turnulețe la colțuri, iar în fața ei se ridică o clopotniță sprijinită pe arcade (fig. 5).

Edificiul a fost construit de Klára Károlyi în 1713, în semn de recunoștință pentru că a supraviețuit unui accident cu sania și a devenit capelă funerară abia după decesul ei, când, în anii 1760, concomitent cu extinderea castelului, capela acestuia a fost demolată, iar mormintele au fost mutate în partea inferioară a clopotniței atașate pe atunci capelei.⁷ Pictura altarului principal, cunoscută doar prin imagini de arhivă, comemora accidentul cu final fericit. Conform inscripției prezentate de Balázs Orbán, accidentul a avut loc imediat după nunta Klárei Károlyi cu Gábor Haller (III), când cuplul era în drum spre casă, spre Sânpaul și, la traversarea lacului înghețat din Miheșu de Câmpie („Méhes”), gheața s-a rupt sub sanie, punându-le viața în pericol. În momentul accidentului Klára Károlyi ar fi jurat că, dacă vor scăpa cu viață, va construi o capelă în cinstea Fecioarei Maria.⁸ Cu toate acestea, în dispozițiile sale din 1745 privind sărbătorile religioase din Sânpaul (anexa 10), adresate parohului, Klára Károlyi susținuse că ideea construirii capelei dedicate „Concepției imaculate a Sfântei Fecioare” a pornit de la soțul său, ea fiind doar cea care a pus-o în practică „conform intenției soțului”.⁹

De asemenea, circumstanțele jurământului sunt consemnate în sursele arhivistice în mod diferit față de inscripția tabloului, cunoscută doar prin interpretarea lui Balázs Orbán. Cea mai importantă sursă o constituie corespondența dintre Klára Károlyi și mama sa,

⁷ KIMPIÁN-MÁRTON 2002, 12; Historia domus (întocmită de parohul Endre Simon). AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/e, cutia 1, vol. „a”. Gábor Haller, soțul Klárei în 1723 a fost înmormântat în biserica iezuiților din Cluj. MÉSZÁROS 2017, 96–101; SAS 2007, 149–177.

⁸ ORBÁN 1871, 35.

⁹ Dispozițiile Klárei Károlyi despre donațiile parohiei catolice din Sânpaul. Sânpaul, 12 septembrie 1745. Copie din 1836. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.



Fig. 6. Tabloul altarului capelei funerare Haller, azi dispărută. După Takáts 1892, 421.

Krisztina Barkóczy (anexa 1).¹⁰ De aici aflăm că, accidentul a avut loc de fapt la începutul lunii decembrie 1713, când Klára Károlyi a pornit spre Carei (Nagykároly), pentru a-și petrece sărbătorile la casa părinților săi. Ea a călătorit pe o sanie trasă de șase cai, fiind însoțită și de câțiva călăreți. Printre însoțitorii săi se număra și un călugăr (*pater*) – potrivit unor autori,

Didák Kelemen însuși¹¹ – și Mihály Korda, secretarul lui Sándor Károlyi. Din scrisori reiese că accidentul a avut loc la Bobâlna (Alparét), o posesie a familiei Haller în apropierea orașului Dej (Dés, județul Cluj) și nu la Miheșu de Câmpie. Aici, la traversarea unui lac înghețat, cu care călăreții nu au avut probleme, gheața s-a rupt sub greutatea saniei, iar Klára Károlyi și însoțitorii săi au căzut în apă. În cele din urmă, caii au scos rapid sania din apă, astfel încât pasagerii au scăpat. Contesa a fost învelită în mantia călugărului și dusă într-o casă caldă, fără consecințe grave.

Despre accident Klára Károlyi o informează pe mama ei, contesa Krisztina Barkóczy, în 16 decembrie 1713, iar aceasta din urmă îi relatează povestea și bunicii Klárei, Judit Koháry (anexa 2).¹² Relatarea detaliată a Klárei Károlyi, adresată mamei sale și cuvintele îngrijorate ale mamei pot fi explicate și prin starea Klárei, însărcinată în acel moment; două luni mai târziu (la 15 februarie 1714), la Olcsva, a dat viață băiatului său Sándor, numit după bunicul lui, cum aflăm dintr-o scrisoare a lui Sándor Károlyi.¹³

Pictorul tabloului altarului din Sânpaul este necunoscut, iar prin anii de după 1950 piesa a și dispărut. În anii de după 1890 pictura era deja într-o stare avansată de degradare.¹⁴ Acest lucru este demonstrat și de fotografia păstrată într-un album de fotografie din 1931, realizat pentru György Haller și având ca temă diferite clădiri, obiecte de artă și relicve de familie din Sânpaul, aflate cândva în proprietatea familiei.¹⁵ O fotografie a altarului a fost publicată de Sándor Takáts în revista *Katolikus Szemle* (fig. 6).¹⁶ După fotografie, se poate afirma că pictura altarului, la fel ca și hramul, a avut ca temă Imaculata Concepție, completată cu figurile unor sfinți anti-pestilențiali și scena evadării miraculoase. În registrul central al tabloului Sfânta Fecioară

¹⁰ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către mama sa, Krisztina Barkóczy. Săulia, 16 decembrie 1713. ANU, P 398, No. 23689.

¹¹ OLTONTÚLI 1944, 25–26.

¹² Scrisoarea Krisztinei Barkóczy către mama sa, Judit Koháry. Olcsva, 23 decembrie 1713. ANU, P 398, No. 37120.

¹³ Sándor Károlyi către Judit Koháry. Olcsva, 16 februarie 1714. ANU, P 398, No. 35486.

¹⁴ Câte o fotografie a fost publicată de Sándor Takáts și Oltontúli: TAKÁTS 1892, 421; OLTONTÚLI 1944, 21. Oltontúli mai adaugă că pictura a fost deteriorată de gloanțe în 1848, urmele lor păstrându-se chiar și în 1944.

¹⁵ Albumul s-a păstrat în două exemplare: unul în arhiva privată a familiei Haller din Grossgründlach (Germania), iar celălalt în proprietate privată.

¹⁶ TAKÁTS 1892, 421.



Fig. 7. Mensa altarului îndreptat către popor al bisericii minorite din Târgu Mureș. Foto János Orbán.

stă pe un glob învăluit de un nor, globul fiind înconjurat de un șarpe reprezentând păcatul, iar sub picioarele Mariei, care ținea în mână un băț înflorit, era vizibilă o semilună. De o parte și de alta a Fecioarei erau reprezentați Sfântul Sebastian și Sfântul Rochus, deasupra ei simbolul ochiului cuprins într-un triunghi (Sfânta Treime), încadrat de Sfântul Anton de Padova și Sfântul Francisc de Assisi, iar dedesubt de figurile Sfântului Ioan Nepomuk și a Sfântului Fabian. Scena evenimentului al cărui sfârșit norocos era atribuit ajutorului Sfintei Fecioarei, era prezentată în partea inferioară a picturii. Sándor Takáts mai precizează că figurile de pe sanie, Klára și însoțitorul ei erau reprezentați uitându-se spre cer cu chipul înspăimântat.¹⁷

Din inventarul realizat cu prilejul vizitei canonice din 1835 reiese, de asemenea, că în masa (mensa) altarului era încorporată o reprezentare a Sfintei Rosalia („in mensa arae jacet imago S. Rosaliae sub vitro”).¹⁸ În acest sens poate fi amintit altarul îndreptat către popor/enoriași („altare versus populum”) al fostei

biserici minorite din Târgu Mureș, pe care apare un relief al Rosaliei. Un aranjament similar are mensa altarului principal al bisericii minorite din Târgu Mureș (fig. 7). Prezența sfinților anti-pestilențiali pe altar poate fi explicată prin circumstanțele întemeierii altarului, epidemia devastatoare de ciumă izbucnită în jurul anului 1710, care a decimat populația atât pe moșiile familiei Károlyi din comitatul Szatmár, în Nyírség cât și la Sânpaul. Chiar și fiul, László al lui Sándor Károlyi și Krisztina Barkóczy a murit de ciumă în 1710.¹⁹ Valul principal al epidemiei a durat până în 1711, dar pe alocuri a continuat până în 1713. Distrugerile provocate de ciumă au fost descrise și de Didák Kelemen într-o scrisoare: „Ruine, sate arse și depopulate, mizerie de necrezut [...], și groază de ciumă, care izbucnește neașteptat și apoi distruge totul.”²⁰ În jurul anului 1712 (probabil în 1711) ciuma izbucnește și la Sânpaul, după cum arată inventarul realizat în timpul vizitării bisericii, încă reformate (calvine) la 20 februarie 1712. Procesul verbal întocmit cu ocazia vizitării menționează că în

¹⁷ TAKÁTS 1892.

¹⁸ Inventarul bisericii și a celor două capele din Sânpaul. 13 martie 1835. AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/b, cutia 1.

¹⁹ ÉBLE 1893, 66–69.

²⁰ Citează: ADAMCZYK 2014, 80.



Fig. 8. Tabloul votiv din Sânpaul cu reprezentarea statuii din Mariazell.



Fig. 9. O variantă a tabloului votiv din Sânpaul în biserica din Baktalórántháza.
După Mariazell 2004, 353.

timpul ciumei unele scânduri ale pardoselii bisericii au fost ridicate (probabil pentru fabricarea sicriilor).²¹ Gravitatea situației este indicată și de măsurile de precauție ale Guberniului, care, în vara anului 1711, pune în carantină așezările afectate de epidemie și permite călătoriile numai cu pașaport.²²

Din mobilierul capelei a mai făcut parte un alt tablou votiv, unul dintre cele două aproape identice, realizate la comanda Klárei Károlyi pentru a comemora supraviețuirea fratelui său, Ferenc și a fiilor săi, Gábor și István în 1737, în urma unui atac turcesc prin surprindere lângă cetatea din Banja Luka (Serbia), în timpul campaniei balcanice a împăratului Carol al VI-lea (fig. 8).²³ Perechea picturii a fost realizată pentru biserica romano-catolică din Bakta (astăzi Baktalórántháza, fig. 9).²⁴ Tablourile prezintă statuia Milostiveniei din Mariazell,

sub care apar scena legată de făgăduință, lupta de la Banja Luka și inscripția votivă. Aceasta din urmă, în cazul tabloului din Sânpaul, este următoarea:

[B]OSNYABAN BÁNYA LUKA VÁRA / [alatt] 1737 [hogy VI.Ká]ROLY CZÁSZÁR KEVÉS NÉPÉRE A TÖRÖK NAGY SOKASÁGÁNAK VÉLET-/ LEN ROHA[nás]ÁBAN TEST[véröcsém] G(róf) KÁROLYI FER(enc) s HALLER IST(ván) ÉS GÁBOR FIAIM MEGMARADÁSOKHOZ / SE(m)MI REMÉNSÉGEM NEM [lév]ÉN IÁR[ul]TAM a KÖNYVEZŐ SZÜZ|KITŰL VIGASZTALÁS NÉLKÖL SEMIBEN NEM JÖTEM| / PÓCSI SZENT KÉPHEZ OTT FOGADÁST TETTEM SZ(ent) FIATUL VIGASZTALÓ KEGYELEM NYERÉSÉÉRT / E MÁRIA [zelli tsu]DÁLATOS SZENTKÉPNEK LE HOSZANDO JELE E SZENT PÁLI KÁPOLNÁBA / [való] HELYEZTETÉSÉ[re örö]

²¹ BUZOGÁNY et. al. 2009, 341.

²² Despre ravagiile ciumei din anii 1708–1711 în zona Scaunului Mureș vezi: PÁL-ANTAL 2013, 166–176.

²³ Colecția de Obiecte Liturgice a Protopopiatului Romano-Catolic din Târgu Mureș, nr. inv.: X.06.00.043.

²⁴ MARIAZELL 2004, 353–354 (cat. II–12.)

KÖS HÁLA ADÓ EMLÉKEZETŐL KIBEN
SEGÉCSÉGET ÉR[ezvén] / UTAM KÖVETÉ-
SÉVEL EZEN [lehozott] PÁRT IDE IS HELY-
HEZTETEM HOGY AKI LÁTOD Ö[rökké?] /
BÍZZÁL S MAGASZTALJAD [...] [kér]V]ÉN OH
ISTENEK SZENT ANYA TOVÁB-IS / ESE[dez-
zél] OLTALMUNKÉR[t] K(árolyi) K(lára)²⁵

În registrul superior al tabloului este prezen-
tată statuia Sfintei Fecioare din Mariazell în
haina ei caracteristică, în formă de clopot, deco-
rată cu un șir de perle și pandantive, purtând
o coroană, iar în registrul inferior lupta dintre
armata turcească și cea imperială. În prim plan
apare un grup de soldați maghiari în fugă,
înotând peste un râu, lateral se vede cetatea
Banja Luka, în apropierea căreia, în prim plan,
deasupra inscripției încadrate într-un cartuș
baroc, sunt redați trei călăreți în haine maghiare
purtând calpăce decorate cu pene.

Ca și în cazul altarului principal, circumstan-
țele făgăduinței sunt cunoscute din correspon-
dența familiei, din care reiese că știrea privind
deznodământul bătăliei a ajuns repede în Unga-
ria, însă au trecut aproximativ două săptămâni
până când familia Károlyi a primit în sfârșit vești
privind supraviețuirea tinerilor, despre care se
zvonea că ar fi căzut în luptă.²⁶ Despre supravie-
țuirea fiilor săi Klára Károlyi a fost informată de
tatăl ei într-o scrisoare în cea de-a doua jumătate
a lunii august 1737. În răspunsul din 25 august
1737 Klára își exprimă fericirea pentru salvarea
fiului său, Gábris (nume de alint a lui Gábor).
Ea – arată în scrisoare – s-a resemnat deja, astfel
încât, după primirea veștii, „se simțea de parcă
Dumnezeu ar fi trezit-o din morți” (anexa 3).²⁷

De asemenea, din scrisorile Klárei reiese
că aceasta a făgăduit un pelerinaj la Mariazell

înainte de a primi vestea salvării fiului său, cu
ocazia unei rugăciuni la Máriapócs (aflată la mică
distanță de la Bakta) când, împreună cu ficele
sale, a cerut mijlocirea Fericitei Fecioare – așa
cum sugerează și inscripția picturii. Inițial a vrut
să pornească abia în primăvară, după întoarce-
rea fiilor săi din campanie dar, după ce tatăl său a
asigurat-o de sprijinul său, a decis să nu amâne,
ci să pornească la pelerinaj pe 15 septembrie
(anexa 4).²⁸ Călătoria a fost organizată de Sándor
Károlyi. El și-a informat administratorul moșiei
sale, pe Demeter Rácz, despre pelerinaj la 23
august 1737 și l-a invitat să-i însoțească pe Klára
și pe copiii ei pe drum, împreună cu Konstan-
tia Csáky, sora Krisztinei Csáky. Din scrisoarea
sa aflăm, de asemenea și itinerariul pelerina-
jului: între Pócs și Máriazell, au planificat să se
oprească la Eger, Buda și Šaštín (Sasvár).²⁹

Inițial, Klára a dorit să-și ia doar ficele în
pelerinaj, dar, la sugestia tatălui său, au fost
însoțite și de fiul Klárei, Sándor. Scrisoarea sa
din 31 august se referă deja la organizarea călă-
toriei: se duce la Carei după „orfanele” sale,
trimite și după fiul său, Sándor „în Transilvania”
(probabil la Sibiu), la casa guvernatorului János
Haller (anexa 5).³⁰ Vestea pelerinajul planifi-
cat s-a răspândit repede, a stârnit și speculații,
potrivit cărora sub pretextul pelerinajului, ei ar
fugi, de fapt, de pericolul invaziei tătare.³¹ Pe
2 octombrie, „campania de pelerinaj” ajunge
deja la Viena.³² Din diferite motive, însoțitorii
Klárei Károlyi au fost lăsați în urmă la Surány,
Klára ajungând singură la Mariazell. Pe drumul
spre casă, ei au vizitat totuși împreună Šaštín
(Sasvár), un alt important loc de pelerinaj.³³

În afară de capela votivă construită, Klára
Károlyi a susținut o *capelă și în castelul din*

²⁵ Părțile indescifrabile ale inscripției puse în paranteze sunt reconstituite pe baza inscripției tabloului din Baktalórántháza și pe baza interpretării lui Balázs Orbán.

²⁶ În arhiva familiei Károlyi s-au păstrat mai multe scrisori de condoleanțe și chiar un epitaf în versuri redactat pentru mormântul lui Ferenc Károlyi, unicul moștenitor al lui Sándor Károlyi.

²⁷ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 25 august 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24363.

²⁸ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 5 septembrie 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24368.

²⁹ Scrisoarea lui Sándor Károlyi către Demeter Rácz, 23 august 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 36677.

³⁰ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi. Adoni (Éradony), 31 august 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24366.

³¹ Vezi scrisoarea anterioară (ANU, P 398, No. 24366) și scrisorile lui Demeter Rácz către Sándor Károlyi, Carei, 27 august (60958) și 10 septembrie 1737, (60961).

³² Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi. Viena, 2 octombrie 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24364.

³³ ÉBLE 1893, 408–409.



Fig. 10. Pluvial realizat probabil de Klára Károlyi în 1723. Fotografie din „albumul Haller”, 1931.

Sânpaul. În prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea, aceasta se afla încă în colțul sud-estic al ansamblului renașcentist și servea drept loc de înmormântare al familiei Haller și al familiilor înrudite. Pe vremea Klárei Károlyi capela era dedicată Conversiunii Apostolului Paul. Din dispozițiile Klárei privind sărbătorile religioase

din Sânpaul, aflăm că de aici porneau și aici se terminau procesiunile organizate cu prilejul sărbătorilor de hram, respectiv a sărbătorilor mai importante (anexa 10).³⁴ În anii 1760, când castelul a fost reconstruit în stil baroc de fiul Klárei Károlyi, Gábor Haller și de soția sa, Anna Maria Grassalkovich, a fost construită o nouă capelă în partea de sud-vest a edificiului aflat astăzi în ruină, iar monumentele funerare și rămășițele pământești ale celor înmormântați au fost transferate de aici sub turnul alipit cu această ocazie capelei construite de Klára.³⁵ Având în vedere că primul inventar cunoscut al capelei datează de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, din perioada de după reconstrucție, nu se poate decide care dintre obiectele enumerate și pierdute de atunci aparțin patronajului Klárei.³⁶ Despre două obiecte însă, un potir de argint din 1610 și un veșmânt liturgic, s-au păstrat fotografii în albumul menționat mai sus. Cel din urmă, un pluvial, a fost confecționat probabil de Klára Károlyi în 1723, în memoria soțului ei (fig. 10).³⁷ Pe partea din spate, în centrul glugii transformate în ornament, se vedea blazonul familiei Haller, cu o inscripție în jur legată de Gábor Haller și circumstanțele morții sale. De asemenea pe marginile glugii se afla o altă inscripție:

KI LÁTOD JELÉT EZEN CZIMEREMNEK
KÉRJED NYUGODALMÁT ISTENTŐL
LELKEMNEK
HOGY TE IS NYERJ ÁLDÁST ÉLTEDNEK
S VÉGEDNEK.

REACORDAREA BISERICII DIN SÂNPAUL

Cea mai importantă dintre măsurile lui Klára Károlyi, menită să favorizeze biserica catolică din Sânpaul, a fost reacordarea fostei biserici parohiale folosite de reformați, catolicilor. Aceasta a afectat și structura confesională a populației

satului. Nu a fost însă singurul act de acest gen al patroanei: activitatea ei a început cu reacordarea bisericii din Bakta în anul 1731, iar ultimul, cea a bisericii din Gheorghieni în 1748, ambele biserici parohiale reformate înainte. Aceste demersuri au

³⁴ Dispozițiile Klárei Károlyi despre donațiile parohiei catolice din Sânpaul. Sânpaul, 12 septembrie 1745. Copie din 1836. AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/b, cutia 1.

³⁵ Historia Domus (întocmit de Endre Simon). AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/e, cutia 3, volumul „a”.

³⁶ Inventarul bisericii și a celor două capele din Sânpaul. 13 martie 1835. AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/b, cutia 1.

³⁷ Klára Károlyi a donat mai multe textile liturgice (veșminte liturgice, acoperământ – pocrovăț –, antependium) decorate cu inscripții și pentru biserica din Bakta. VAJK 2011, 21–23.

fost susținute de tatăl său, care a procedat într-un mod similar în cazul mai multor biserici de pe domeniul familial din comitatul Sătmar, respectiv farnciscanul Didák Kelemen și ordinul minorităților, care au încurajat-o.³⁸

Astfel, în anul 1740, când a avut loc reconvertirea bisericii din Sânpaul, Klára Károlyi avea deja o experiență considerabilă în acest domeniu. Moșiile din Transilvania, precum Sânpaul și Gheorghieni făceau parte din moștenirea fiilor săi, iar din punct de vedere al organizării ecleziastice se aflau sub autoritatea episcopiei ardelene; administrativ, erau sub autoritatea Guberniului, spre deosebire de moșiile din comitatul Sătmar și Nyírség, din extremitatea estică a Ungariei, unde cazurile controversate de acest gen erau adresate, pentru obținerea autorizațiilor necesare, Arhiepiscopiei din Eger, respectiv Cancelariei Regale. În timp ce, în ultimul caz, Klára a încercat să exploateze mai ales influența și relațiile tatălui său, Sándor Károlyi, în cazurile transilvănene sursele arhivistice sugerează că, pe lângă suportul parental, a încercat să profite de relația de familie cu János Haller, guvernatorul Transilvaniei între anii 1734–1756.

Ideea recuperării bisericii din Sânpaul datează din 1740. Într-o scrisoare trimisă în martie 1740 tatălui său (anexa 6) Aflăm că Klára Károlyi dorește să obțină autorizația regală pentru preluarea bisericii din Sânpaul de la reformati și de a înființa o parohie sub „protecția” cancelarului aulic al Transilvaniei și a guvernatorului Transilvaniei.³⁹ Planul ei era motivat de creșterea numărului catolicilor la peste o sută, aproape de două ori mai mulți decât reformații. În scrisoarea sa cere sfatul și opinia tatălui cu privire la locul unde să înființeze parohia și modul în care să procedeze pentru a-și realiza planurile.

Scrisoarea relevă de asemenea că plănuia să transfere iobagi reformați din Sânpaul în satul învecinat Ogra (Marosugra), care din punct de vedere ecleziastic era până atunci filia parohiei Sânpaul. Spre deosebire de Bakta și Lórántháza (astăzi o singură localitate: Baktalórántháza), unde reformații au fost compensați prin alocarea unei biserici renovate cu sprijinul ei, aici a



Fig. 11. Biserica parohială din Sânpaul. Fotografie din „albumul Haller”, 1931.

acționat mai radical. Conform acestei scrisori, în cazul dislocării populației de pe 75 de loturi de teren, ea nu ar fi lăsat în folosința reformaților biserica din Ogra, dorind reconvertirea acesteia în folosul catolicilor din sat – al căror număr număra abia 25 de familii – și din satele învecinate, interzicându-le să construiască o biserică nouă sub pretextul că acolo niciodată nu a existat parohie.

Spre deosebire de cazul din Bakta, când înainte de convertirea bisericii cele două confesiuni au semnat un contract, la Sânpaul și Ogra, Klára Károlyi a avut grijă să nu dea nimic în scris. Ea a avut o idee concretă despre modul de ocupare a bisericii, intenționând să-și trimită, cu prilejul unei procesiuni, capelanul însoțit de câțiva nobili ai comitatului ca să officieze acolo Sfânta Liturghie. Datorită prezenței nobilimii – aflăm din scrisoare – nu-i era teamă de rezistență, dar presupunea că reformații ulterior vor protesta, considera prin urmare necesar să ia măsuri pentru a obține autorizația aulică de la Viena, prin relațiile personale amintite. Planuri

³⁸ Aceste subiecte voi fi tratate mai detaliat într-un studiu care va fi publicat în curând.

³⁹ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 24 martie 1740. ANU, P 398, No. 24503.



Fig. 12. Tablou votiv realizat cu ocazia reconvertirii bisericii din Sânpaul. Foto Júlia Bara.

similare existau și în cazul bisericii din Ogra. Cu privire la fezabilitatea planurilor și consecințele viziunii sale, a simțit o anumită incertitudine, motiv care a determinat-o să ceară și părerea tatălui său.

În aceeași scrisoare menționează și un alt sat (însă fără a-l denumi) în care locuiesc doar două familii calviniste, cu o biserică practic părăsită, folosită rareori pentru cult, cu care probabil avea planuri similare. Mai aflăm că, după recensămintele vremii, pe moșiile fiilor săi parcelele aflate în folosința familiilor de religie reformată depășeau numai cu 30 numărul celor aflate în folosința catolicilor, iar la Sânpaul – probabil în afara celor aflate în serviciul castelului – existau 76 de parcele folosite de catolici și 49 de reformați.

Din păcate, nu cunoaștem scrisorile de răspuns ale lui Sándor Károlyi. Cu toate acestea, una dintre scrisorile Klárei (anexa 7) subliniază că, în cazul Sânpaul, ea a așteptat o ocazie favorabilă, când preotul a fost acuzat de abuz, inițiind o anchetă pentru investigarea cazului de către procurorii săi. După ce aceștia au constatat temeinicia acuzației, preotul a fost demis și pentru mai multe săptămâni biserica a rămas supravegheată numai de un curator. Profitând de această ocazie, în ziua Adormirii Maicii Domnului, pe 15 august, după slujba din capela castelului, sub conducerea capelanului, Klára Károlyi împreună cu cei prezenți s-au dus la biserică unde au asistat la oficierea Sfintei Liturghii. Din spusele sale, acțiunea nu a provocat nici atunci și nici în următoarele patru zile opoziție, dar, fiind convinsă de viitoarele proteste, a considerat necesară aprobarea oficială.⁴⁰

O altă scrisoare a Klárei Károlyi, scrisă la 12 septembrie tatălui său dezvăluie că problema bisericii din Sânpaul a ajuns deja în fața Consiliul Locumtenenței Regale din Viena (Consilium Regium Locumtenentiale Hungaricum), prin medierea lui Sándor Károlyi și prin intermediul cancelarului.⁴¹ Redobândirea bisericii din Sânpaul este comemorată și de inscripția tabloului votiv reprezentând copia icoanei de la Máriapócs, aflat în prezent la Târgu Mureș (fig. 12).⁴² Acesta descrie circumstanțele confiscării bisericii într-un mod puțin diferit de evenimentele reale, reconstruite pe baza corespondenței: potrivit inscripției, în ziua respectivă, a Adormirii Maicii Domnului din 1741, Klára Károlyi tocmai se afla într-un pelerinaj la Máriapócs, pornind de la casa ei din Bakta pentru a cere ajutorul Maicii Domnului în procesul de redobândire a bisericii, în timp ce la Sânpaul un călugăr minorit a recuperat cu succes biserica de la reformați.⁴³ Contrar inscripției, așa cum s-a arătat, evenimentul a fost pregătit chiar de

⁴⁰ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 29 august 1740. ANU, P 398, No. 24507.

⁴¹ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Ardud, 24 septembrie 1740. ANU, P 398, No. 24505.

⁴² Astăzi în Colecția de Obiecte Liturgice a Protopopiatului Romano-Catolic din Târgu Mureș. nr. inv. X.06.00.042; Publicat pentru prima oară în: MIHÁLY 2010, 26, menționat în: MARIAZELL 2004, 353.

⁴³ „Az midon 1740dik esztendoben Nagy-Boldog Aszszony napjan mint azon Szent Szuznek alazatos tiszteloje az Baktai árva hazamtul Processioval az Pocsi Templomban lévő csudalatos képhez mentem azon végre hogy az Boldogságos Szűz Máriának esedezése által a Kerelő Szent Páli Parochiális Templomnak kálvinistaság kezéből való szabadulását nyerhessem, ugyan azon nap mivel egy Tisztelendő Pater Minorita által Isten kegyelméből reméltelen elvétetni, Szent

Klára Károlyi, prezentă personal la dedicarea bisericii, iar călugărul minorit nu era unul oarecare, ci foarte probabil capelanul ei, Athanasius Fejér, care la acea vreme era superiorul mănăstirii din Firtușu (Firtosváralja, jud. Harghita) și care anterior, din 1728 până în 1735 a fost capelan la casa Klárei Károlyi din Bakta, deci nu se poate exclude că ar fi jucat un rol și în redobândirea bisericii de acolo.⁴⁴

Putem presupune că Klára Károlyi a denaturat realitatea nu numai în cazul acestei inscripții, ci și în scrisorile și cererile înaintate organelor oficiale. Acest fapt este sugerat de o scrisoare trimisă de ea vicarului transilvan, János Kastal în această chestiune (anexa 8), în care afirmă că biserica a fost distrusă în mâinile calvinistilor și s-a întors în mâinile lor datorită lui Athanasius Fejér.⁴⁵ Ideea bisericii părăsite se pare că a intrat în tradiția familiei: József Haller, de exemplu, la începutul secolului al XIX-lea, cu prilejul înnoirii și completării dispozițiilor făcute de bunica sa, Klára Károlyi, susține că în momentul respectiv biserica era abandonată.⁴⁶

Cronicile bisericii (*Historia Domus-urii*) din perioade mai târzii, care se bazează pe surse contemporane cum ar fi consemnările în matricole și înregistrări parohiale, oferă informații suplimentare privind istoria timpurie a bisericii. Pe baza acestora putem afirma că fosta biserică parohială, deși nu era abandonată, într-adevăr putea să fie într-o stare de degradare, motiv pentru care a necesitat restaurarea completă. Biserica a fost practic complet reconstruită în două faze (fig. 11). După redobândirea bisericii aceasta a fost restaurată în 1741 de Klára Károlyi: i-a fost adăugat un sanctuar, o sacristie, respectiv un turn și a fost consacrată Sfinților Petru și Paul. Perioada reconstruirii este evidențiată și de cifra anului ascuns în decorul de stuc al bolții



Fig. 13. Copia icoanei de la Nicula din colecția bisericii din Sânpaul. Foto Kisanna Barabás.

sanctuarului. Pictura altarului, bogat sculptat și posibil realizat concomitent cu masa altarului, amvonul, sfeșnicele și crucifixul,⁴⁷ îi înfățișează pe protectorii bisericii, Sfântul Petru și Paul, iar imaginea de deasupra reprezintă Sfânta Treime. După 1748 Klára a ridicat și două altare laterale mai mici, unul dedicat Sfintei Clara, iar celălalt Fecioarei Maria.⁴⁸

În 1775, fiul lui Klára, Gábor Haller a restaurat din nou biserica: a fost supraînălțată și rebolțită nava, s-a construit o tribună pentru orgă și s-a înlocuit altarul Sfintei Clara cu un altar dedicat Răstignirii. Imaginea Fecioarei Maria de pe celălalt altar, aflată în condiții precare, a fost

Áldozat [...] tetetett annak örökös hála adó emlékeztetére irattam azon Pócsi csudálatos kép hasonlatosságára ezen képet az Boldogságos Szent Szűz Máriának legkisebb Tisztelő szolgáloja K. K.”

⁴⁴ Primele scrisori ale lui Athanasius Fejér către Sándor Károlyi, păstrate în arhiva familiei, sunt trimise din Bakta. Într-o scrisoare din 20 octombrie 1735 el relatează că din casa Klárei Károlyi, unde era capelan timp de șase ani și jumătate, se mută la Nyírbátor. ANU, P 398, No. 17646.

⁴⁵ *Historia Domus* întocmit de parohul László Tözsér în 1910. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/e, cutia 3.

⁴⁶ Dispozițiile lui József Haller despre fundațiile bisericii. 12 octombrie 1801. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.

⁴⁷ Astăzi în Colecția de Obiecte Liturgice a Protopopiatului Romano-Catolic din Târgu Mureș, nr. inv. X.06.00.036.

⁴⁸ Aceste altare laterale sunt menționate și într-o scrisoare de donație a Klárei Károlyi pentru lumânări și ulei de lampă din 25 august 1748. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.

repictată.⁴⁹ Ca și în cazul lui Klára Károlyi, meritele patronului au fost eternizate de o inscripție aflată pe un tablou reprezentând Sfânta Fecioară, pierdută de atunci și cunoscută numai din însemnările din *Historia Domus*.⁵⁰ Presupunem că această imagine a Mariei a fost o copie a unei icoane miraculoase, poate chiar copia icoanei din Cluj provenind din Nicula, întrucât inventarul bisericii realizat în timpul vizitei episcopului din 1835 enumeră și două copii de icoane,⁵¹ dintre care doar una s-a păstrat (fig. 13).⁵² Detaliile inscripției icoanei dispărute pot fi citite și în medalioanele aflate deasupra altarelor Răstignirii și a Sfintei Fecioare Maria Îndurerată, renovată în 1775. Tot în același an a fost construită poarta barocă din fața bisericii, cu statui ale Sfântului Petru și Paul (fig. 11). Din secolul al XVIII-lea datează și amvonul bisericii, pe parapetul căruia apar figurile pictate ale celor patru evangheliști, pe tavanul baldachinului porumbelul Duhului Sfânt, iar pe dorsală Învierea.

Deși nu am avut ocazia să investigăm schimbările în populație și relațiile confesionale ale localității Sânpaul cu așezările înconjurătoare – Ogra (Marosugra), Chirileu (Kerelő), Cipău (Maroscsapó), Dileu Nou (Magyardellő), Valea Izvoarelor (Búzásbesenyő) –, materialul sugerează că acțiunile Klárei Károlyi au influențat foarte mult viața acestor sate și au provocat schimbări radicale în istoria congregațiilor reformate de aici. După evenimentele prezentate mai sus, Sânpaul, care inițial avea rang de parohie reformată, a devenit, împreună cu Ogra, filia Dileului Nou, ridicată la rang de parohie. În

1749, bunurile mobile ale bisericii reformate din Sânpaul se regăsesc deja în Dileu Nou, ceea ce sugerează că nu s-au mai ținut slujbe reformate la Sânpaul.⁵³ În mod similar, până în secolul al XVIII-lea populația din Chirileu a fost în cea mai mare parte reformată, formând o parohie. La scurt timp după ce Klára Károlyi a reconvertit biserica „abandonată”, dedicând-o după restaurarea ei Sfântului Ștefan al Ungariei,⁵⁴ găsim clopotul și potirul reformatilor de aici la Valea Izvoarelor, ridicată la rangul de parohie. Cronica bisericii din Sânpaul, datând din secolul al XIX-lea, chiar justifică cauza risipirii populației arătând că: „nu au dat ascultare bunăvoinței”, adică nu s-au convertit la religia catolică, adăugând că, alături de Valea Izvoarelor unde majoritatea s-au mutat, mulți s-au stabilit la Vințu de Sus (astăzi Unirea) și Gornești.⁵⁵ În spatele tuturor acestor procese, ca în cazul Bakta, se pot intui acțiunile Klárei Károlyi, care administra moșiile fiilor săi. Cu toate acestea, în cazul Chirileului – în principal datorită condiției diferite a populației – ea nu a reușit să-și atingă scopul. Din ordinele date de nepotul său, József Haller, parohului din Sânpaul reiese că în 1801 la Chirileu nu existau deloc catolici, biserica fiind abandonată, iar populația era formată din români de religie unită, care dețineau deja o biserică.⁵⁶

În Ogra plănuita reconvertire a bisericii reformate nu s-a realizat, aceasta a rămas în folosința reformatilor. Știm totuși că Klára Károlyi nu a renunțat la planul ei, iar potrivit dispozițiilor din 1745 menționate (anexa 10) a vrut să o dedice Sfintei Elisabeta.⁵⁷ Pentru

⁴⁹ Dispozițiile lui József Haller despre fundațiile bisericii. 12 octombrie 1801. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.

⁵⁰ „Ao 1740 eset. (?) Grof Károlyi Klára asszonynak édes anyánk buzgó aitaosságá és Isten rendelése által Kálvinistaság kezéből Pusztaságában áltál vévén, Sanctuariummal, Toronnyal, Sekrestyével felékesítve maradékira hagyván, Gróf Haller Gábor 1775. esz. G. Károlyi ... Derekának megmagosításával, oszlopokkal, boltozásokkal, oltárokkal, corussal, köczinteremmel, cserép fedéllel, sekrestyének újításával, Felséges Istennek örökös tiszteletére s Áldozattyára buzgó alázatos szívvvel telyesítette, és ezen Boldogságos Szűz képit is itten romladozva tanálván újra iratta.” *Historia Domus* (întocmit de parohul Andre Simon). AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/E. 395/e, cutia 1, volumul „a”.

⁵¹ Inventarul bisericii și a celor două capele din Sânpaul. 13 martie 1835. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.

⁵² DUMITRAN–HEGEDŰS–VASILE 2011, 104, fig. 190. (atribuit pictorului Mátyás Veress). Colecția de Obiecte Liturgice a Protopopiatului Romano-Catolic din Târgu Mureș, Nr. inv. X.06.00.034.

⁵³ BUZOGÁNY ET AL. 2009, 446, 465–466.

⁵⁴ Vezi dispozițiile Klárei Károlyi din 1745 (anexa 10).

⁵⁵ *Historia Domus* (întocmit de parohul Andre Simon). AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/e, cutia 1, volumul „a”.

⁵⁶ Dispozițiile lui József Haller despre fundațiile bisericii. 12 octombrie 1801. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.

⁵⁷ AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b. cutia 1; Anexa 10.

catolicii care locuiau acolo un capelan de curte oficia slujbe chiar și la începutul secolului al XIX-lea.

Cert este că o asemenea protecție și sprijin oferiți catolicilor nu au fost lipsiți de conflicte, așa cum arată și cazul Gheorghieniului, unde reconvertirea bisericii a generat proteste, iar comunitatea a apelat la autoritățile ecleziastice și laice. În acest sens, arhivele bisericilor ar putea oferi informații suplimentare. În cazul Sânpaulului, un astfel de abuz este menționat și de cronica bisericii, când un slujitor al lui Gábor Haller, unul dintre fiii lui Klára Károlyi, l-a surprins pe preotul reformat din Ogra ținând în secret slujba într-o șură din Sânpaul și pentru aceasta, cu acordul parohului Mátyás Daróczi, l-a pus în lanțuri și l-a ținut închis în casa de servitori a parohiei. Pentru acest exces au fost amendați, iar Daróczi suspendat din funcție din „ordinul curții regale”.⁵⁸

În convertirea reformatilor din Sânpaul însă Klára Károlyi a recurs și la metode pașnice. Despre sărbătorile ecleziastice din Sânpaul – la

fel ca tatăl său, în memoriul intitulat *Providentia Dei* – a lăsat în urmă un memoriu (anexa 10), care descrie sărbătorirea Corpus Christi, când procesiunea pornită din capela („biserica”) castelului, după ceremoniile ținute în diverse puncte ale satului, în fața unor altare de ocazie, s-a încheiat în biserica parohială. Klára, la fel ca tatăl său, care folosea aceste ocazii pentru a-i atrage pe reformați la „sânul sacru al Maicii Biserici”, a considerat sărbătorile ca un mijloc important de a câștiga noi catolici.⁵⁹ Din Bakta cunoaștem un caz similar în anul preluării bisericii, 1731, când la sărbătorile de Paște, comemorate prin pregătirea Sfântul Mormânt, prin procesiune și prin vecernii, au participat din curiozitate mai mulți dintre reformați, unul convertindu-se chiar în ziua de Paști – ceea ce a dat Klárei speranța că numărul catolicilor împreună cu proprii săi slujitori vor ajunge la 50–60.⁶⁰ Putem presupune că la Sânpaul tot din acest motiv au avut loc diverse procesiuni spectaculoase și sărbători bisericești.

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⁵⁸ Historia Domus (scris de parohul Endre Simon). AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/e, cutia 1, volumul „a”.

⁵⁹ Vezi și dispozițiile Klárei Károlyi intitulate *Instructio Devotionalis* adresate parohului din Sânpaul. 21 ianuarie 1741. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1. Anexa 10.

⁶⁰ Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 28 martie 1731. ANU, P 398, No. 24092.

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ANEXE

Anexa 1.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către mama sa, Krisztina Barkóczy.
Săulia („Sally”), 16 decembrie 1713. ANU, P 398, No. 23689.

Én édes nacsaszom nag[ysá]god parancsolatya szerint meg indultam volt, hogy az innepekre udvarolhassak nag[ysá]godnak, de isten akarattya szerint azon szándékunk meg csálódott, mivel egy ton az kin az nyáron szárazon jártunk által ottan az jég lefogkat [sic!] ⁶¹ de Istennek hála mint hogy csekély volt az víz s hirtelenséggel ki húztak bennünket, s kivált engem legelőbb

kihúztak, s az paternek az száraz mentéje volt, s hirtelen levettem az vizes köntöst, az páter mentéjében, köpönyegben miben hat [hált] bele rakattak, közel lévén falu, jó meleg házban mentünk s jól megmelegettem, s által nem vert az hideg, ijedve pedig istennek hála meg nem ijedtem, fájdalmot pedig tellyességgel semmit sem érzek [...]

Anexa 2.

Scrisoarea Krisztinei Barkóczy către mama sa, Judit Koháry.
Olcsva, 23 decembrie 1713. ANU, P 398, No. 37120.

[...] szintén minden órán várom s majd nyugtalankodom az leányom iránt, ihon jön Korda

üres alkalmatossággal, megindultának vólt Szent Párlól s amint Alparét felé jöttek vólna

⁶¹ Lefakadt, leszakadt.

jó úttal, valami Tón jöttek volna a jégén, máskint ország uttyán, le szakadt alattok a jég s meg áztak, de Istennek hála olly szerencsétlen esetben is szerencsésen semi baj nélkül megmaradt a leányom, sem az hideg által nem verte,

sem semmi fájdalmot nem érzett se az nap, sem itczakának idején, se másnap délig, Korda jelenlétében semmi változása éppen nem vólt, az mint az accludált leányom leveléből bővebben meg értheti N[agysá]g[o]d [...]

Anexa 3.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi.

Bakta, 25 august 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24363.

N[agysá]god M[é]l[tósá]gos két levelét 15dik(én) költet péntek este nagy szívbeli szomorúsággal vettem, másnapon pedig ezen órában örvendezt[et]ő kegyes atyai levelet nagyságodak [...] megvallom semmi reménységem nem volt az Gabrisomhoz tudván az táboron való létét, olyba

tetszik mintha ujonnan támasztotta volna fel az Isten kiért áldassék Istennek örökkön örökké Sz[ent] neve érette ki [...] ily veszedelmekben ily dicsőséges csudálatos hatalmas erejét ki mutatya, hatalmas oltalmát kiért dicsértesség Sz[ent] neve [...]

Anexa 4.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi.

Bakta, 5 septembrie 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24368.

N[agysá]god M[é]l[tósá]gos kegyes és I[ste]-nes intentioja szerint való levelét az mindkét rendbélit nagy alázatosággal vettem. Igaz dolog hogy minek előtte N[agysá]godnak ezen M[é]l[tósá]gos levelei érkeztenek volna már azon szándékom nekem leányimmal azon keserves hír hallásomban Poltra [Pócsra] menvén az Boldogságos Szűz esedezése által Istenhez folyamodni vigasztaló drága kegyelemnek megnyeréséért melyben hogy ha meg hallgattatom, örvendetes hírt ad Isten hallanom köteleztem magamat örökös hálaadásul Mária Czelben való menetelre tavasszal, megnyervén az Úr Isten véghetetlen irgalmasságából, gondoltam, hogy nem halasztom tavaszra, hanem az fiaimat haza várván az Táborul velek követni fogom.

De az Úr Isten mégis hamarabb való végbe vitelet kívánta tapasztalnom melyet kész is vagyok követni Sz[ent] segedelméből minél hamarabb mert nagyságod Kegyes tetczését, rendelését első leveléből értvén noha a kettős céllal mind' által el tekeltt [tökéltt] szándékkal rezolváltam magamat, hogy ha az külső testi haszonra való czél nem kívánja is, tovább egy átalýában nem halasztom, hanem Isten segítségéből Kisasszony napjának oktaváján ugymint 157bris Devotio végben vitele után ha csak még falu határáig is processioval el indulok onnan az Ur Isten drága kegyelme által valamire világositunk telyeshitelhető [!] buzgó háladó szívvel beáldozott valóságos bucsus utat követünk [...]

Anexa 5.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către tatăl său, Sándor Károlyi.

Adoni (Éradony), 31 august 1737. ANU, P 398, No. 24366.

N[agysá]god 23dik költ M[é]l[tósá]gos kegyes atyai levelet nagy alázatosággal vettem, parancsolatyát N[agysá]godnak alázatosággal veszem, megvallom, hogy nem csak szín hanem valósággal is köteleztem is magamat Mária

Czellben azon hálaadásra de eddig nem hirdetem, ezzel terjesztem hogy nagyságod szándéka megegyezett, azért megyünk vagy csak az magamét, az mint jobbnak látom, de minap még híre sem hallatni hogy háború van, máris

tele volt Bereg megye hogy futok, ha szomszéd faluba megyünk sem érkezik az láрма nélkül de tülem bizony nem ered azért holnapután Isteni szolgálatra Károlyba megyek, meglátom az árvákat ha jöhetnek terminálok Pócsra ott devotizálván kövessük utunkat, az mi olyan van arról rendelést tévén hozzák utánnunk ha

velünk nem jöhet. Sándorért holnapután indítok Erdélyben noha már ötöt az M[é]l[tósá]-gos gubernátor gratiajában ajánlottam vala az ház őrzéséért, atyai képen ajánlotta, válalta is gondviselését melyet talán magam sem kívánhattam, de N[agysá]g[o]d parancsolatyára csak ki hoztattam [...]

Anexa 6.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 24 martie 1740. ANU, P 398, No. 24503.

[...] minthogy Isten annyira gyarapította az pápistaságot Sz[ent] Páli jószágokban gyermekimnek hogy száz teleknél egy néhányval többre felmegyen, ha mód tanáltathatnék Nagyságod istenes munkája, méltóságos cancellárius és méltóságos Gubernátor ur kegyes i[ste]nes igazgatási és protectioja által hogy az anyaszentegyház terjedésére s az szegény lelkeknek épülésire Templomot foglalhatnánk nekik, szolgálatyokra papot állíthatnánk. Úgy tetszik az keresztényi kötelességtől ösztönöztetünk az Isten szolgálatjának elő mozdítására kívált hogy Isten kegyes irgalmasságából erre Nagyságod istenes példájával bőségesen tanítottunk, mely hol és miképpen eshetnék meg jobb és hasznosabb és állandóbb vagy meg alhatob móddal kegyes istenes bölcs ítéletit alázatosan kérem Nagyságodnak s hogy világosítását alázatosan jelenthetem [...] gondolkodtam, hogy ha az Szent Páli falusi templom vetethetnék el azon fundamentumon hogy több számmal vadnak ottan az pápisták mivel majd kétannyi mind lélek, mind gazda számra h[ogy] az predikátortul is elesnék parochiája az Templommal, adatnék át neki Ugra nevű falu ugyan fiajímé Sz[ent] Pálhoz való filiális lévén, az ott levő templom is együt vetetettnek nem bocsátván oda is az Predikátort ezen okon hogy eddig is ottan parochia nem volt ujnak felállítására nincs hatalom vagy szabadság, sem az Sz[ent] Páli parochiátul való elszakasztására annyival is inkább, hogy hasonló szükség van Isteni szolgálatra ottan mint hogy 20 telek onnan is vagyon papista s az közel való falvakban is feles papistaság s ők ámbár 76 telekből állók is mennének szomszéd faluba ki közel esik Csapo nevű.

Hogy pedig előre az fundamentumot nekik ki nyilatkoztatni nem volna jó sem nagy méltóságok sem magam nevezési ne forogna benne az mely pater ott szolgálta az lelkeknek processio járás alkalmatosságával két három becsületes N[emes] Vármegye tagjai jelenlétében csak be mennének az templomban, otan az Sz[ent] Misét el mondanák. Az nemesség jelenlétében nem mernek valami rendetlenséget elkövetni csak úgy gondolom talán az után ha panaszra mennének az emberem csak azt mondhatná, hogy miért mondották benne nem adhattya vissza, tudosit innen válaszolna az ember, az alatt míg ők is futnak fáradnak, odafel az megírt vagy még annál fontosabb okokkal nagyságodtok kegyes istenes munkája által megnyerhetők, csak ot helyben függőben, pecsét alatt közre míg tartatik manuteniálhatnak melybe az gondviselőm is lehetne segítség oltalmában hogy hozzá ne nyuljanak s ne bántsák. Talán lenne haszna ha megunnák s abba hagynák, talán ha pedig ez az kettő így meg nem eshetnék, melyiket volna jobb venni, hogy ha Isten üdövel nagyobb gyarapodását adná az anyaszentegháznak előmenetelét inkább lehetne könnyebb móddal hozzájutása, ezen mostani munkával állandóbb fészket azáltal nem annyira verhetnének magoknak Sz[ent] Pálról talán inkább ki eshetnek így kevesebb számok ottan, az Ugrait ha jobb volna az meg írt móddal az hol processióval nem esketnek is, történt uttyok alkalmatosságával az becsületes nemesi rendnek az Templom körül való sétálgatván [sic!] az páter együtt be menvén Sz[ent] Misét mondana benne mely végben mehetne ilyen móddal nagyságod bölcs ítéletihez alázatosan folyamodom, hogy

mi móddal eshetnek jobban, minemű következhető akadályokat, bajokat méltóztatik benne által látni nagyságod, annak meg előző orvoslását alázatosan kérném nagyságod m[é]l[tósá]gos gratiájából [...]

[...] de úgy tetszik, hogy szintén templom-jok az feljebb írt conceptus szerint nem lehetne is [az ugraiaknak], lehetetlen volna annyi lelket lelki atya nélkül hadni már lelki sérelem nélkül [...]

Anexa 7.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către Sándor Károlyi. Bakta, 29 august 1740. ANU, P 398, No. 24507.

[...] az mint egy alkalmatossággal említettem az Sz[ent] Páli prédikátornak valamely mocskos állapotban való keveredését kiv[árván] inquisitionnak végben vitelét is parancsoltam vala ha jól emlékezem reá nagyságod kegyes atyai jóvá-lásából is de mivel az predikátor maga végben vitte emberem azt szükségesnek nem állította, el mulata, hanem telyes világos lévén gonossága, az melyet neki valamely lopásba való egyveledése meg változtatásáru az super intendensnek írt az gondviselőm s az superintendens predikátorok gyűlését tartva ottan mind predikátor mestert meg fosztották hivatalától, el vitték és így üresen maradván mind Templom, mind Parochia csak idáig hagyván ott egy mestert úgy egy öt hétig úgy álván üresen az templom, látván az alkalmatosságot az ott levő páter nagy Boldog asszony napján midőn házamnál levő kápolnában be gyűlt az nép Sz[ent] Lélek segítségül hívása után jelentette az népnek másutt akar misét mondani, jöjjenek el, el ne

Még harmadik falujokban fiaiimnak van egy majd pusztán álló templomjok az hol két gazdából álló kálvinisták vadnak, egy pápista más idegen faluhoz való filiális csak általmenetelével teszen olykor az könyörgést.

[...] gyermekeim birodalmában az kálvinisták mintegy 30 telekkel haladgyák felül az pápisták számát [...]. [...] Szent Pálon 76 az pápistasáh kálvinista meg 49[...]

maradgyanak kik nagy sereggel utanna indulván az paternek az kápolnába az temetőhöz menne csak akkor tudták meg mikor az falusi kálvinista templomhoz fordult ottan kérvén kulcsot az ideig ot hagyot mestertől nem adta könnyen meg nyitván az templomot be mentének s mind az Sz[ent] Misét, minden egyéb ájítatosságot benne szép csendeszen az népnek legkisebb zendülése nélkül áldassék az Urnak Sz[ent] neve erette örökkön örökké végbe vitték s negyed napon irván az levelet mind adig azon szép csendességben meg maradtanak legkisebb ellenkező szót sem halván csak az parasztságtul is [...] esztveli reggeli imádságra az templomban el is kezdetenek járni nagy figy elmességgel hallgatván jelen voltak, de csak el hiszem azon csendességben meg nem hadgyák minden módon meg védik mestersségek visszavételére de remélem az Sz[ent] Lélek úr isten ki eddig csudálatos kegyes gondviseléssel igazgata, kormányozta, megtartására is nyújt segedelmet [...]

Anexa 8.

Scrisoarea Klárei Károlyi către János Kastal, vicarul episcopiei romano-catolice din Alba Iulia. Sânpaul, 17 ianuarie 1741.

AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/e, cutia 3. Copie după documentul original din Arhiva Episcopiei Romano-Catolice din Alba Iulia (Act. epp. fasc. 25. No. 2. 1741) în Historia Domus-ul întocmit de parohul László Tözsér în 1910.

Befordulásom alkalmatosságával kívántam az M[é]l[tósá]gos Urnak levelemmel udvarolnom s

egyszersmind alázatos kérésemel, szándékomal az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr eleiben terjesztenem mint

hogy az Úr Isten véghetetlen irgalmasságából ezen Szent Páli Kálvinisták kezében elpusztult Templomot s parochiát T. Pater Fejér Athanasius Firtosi praesidens Atyám iram Istenes buzgó szorgalmatossága által kezünkben adta hogy tovább is az Ur Isten Sz[ent] Nevének tiszteleti terjesztessen s az igaz hitben levő hideg [?] együgyű népnek édesitcse is meg a kívül valóknak meg térésre gyarapítatnák ő K[egyelmé]nek által amennyiben az ittvalóknak ő K[egyel]mekhez vagyon Ismerecségek s ő K[egyel]mek is valóban, tudván ezeknek természeteket. Egy idejig kívánom kezet alatt alat hagyni az említett templomot és házat, hogy Istenes munkálkodások által administráltatnék,

míg mindenek jobb rendben vezettethetnének s jövőendőben az becsületes plébános is subsistálhasson arra való nézve kérem alázatosan az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr Istenes atyai áldását s juridictióját, melyet minden Isteni ájtatosság, minden külső rendelések meg erőssítésének s az által üdvös-séges szent szokás bevezessék az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr gratiájából Investiturajok lehetne ő K[egyel]meknek, hogy az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr protectioja Istenes buzgóságával ez is mind állandóbb hasznosabb és gyümölcsösebb legyen. Vagyok is teljes bizalommal, hogy ily lelki jóra nézendő kívánságomban az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr személye előtt meg nem fogyatkozom, amidőn ajánlom magamat az M[é]l[tósá]gos Úr gratiájában [...]

Anexa 9.

Scrisoarea lui János Kastal, vicarul episcopiei romano-catolice din Alba Iulia către Klára Károlyi. Alba Iulia, 22 ianuarie 1741. AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/e, cutia 3. (copie după documentul original aflat în Arhiva Episcopiei Romano-Catolice din Alba Iulia (Act. epp. fasc. 25. No. 2. 1741) în Historia Domus-ul întocmit de parohul László Tözsér în 1910)

Ezen múltó hónapnak 17dik napján Sz[ent]-Pálról költ levelitől N[agysá]g[od]nak szegény hazánkban szerencsés jelenésit örömmel értvén ottan levő közelebb visszafoglalt és eretnekség erőszakos birodalmában elpusztult Parochialis Ecclesiát s házat nem különben hülye és együgyű Catholicusok perfectióját úgy azoknak tévelygésből reménylett szaporodását tűrő [?] buzgósággal N[agysá]g[od]tul szívesen annyiban secundalom hogy Tiszt[elendő] Pater Minorita

Uraimék, kik azon helyiségben ismeretessek parochusi juridictioval és hatalommal feljebb nevezett Parochialis Ecclesiát administrálhassák, és ahoz tartozandó fundusokat bírassák továbbra való dispositióig. Reménylem az alatt hogy N[agysá]g[od] udvarlásához szerencsém lévén állandó administratiójáról bővebben conferálhatok. Abban pedig N[agysá]g[od] bizonyos légyen, hogy Töllem kitelhető dolgokat illető parancsollattjainak teljesítője lészek [...]

Anexa 10.

Dispozițiile Klárei Károlyi despre donațiile parohiei catolice din Sânpaul, precum despre sărbătorile și săvârșirea Sfintei Liturghii adresate parohului din Sânpaul. Sânpaul, 12 septembrie 1745. Copie din 1836. AARCAI, ACTgM, 395/b, cutia 1.

[...] Mivel az Ur Isten maga véghetetlen irgalmasságából az Eretnekségnek sok időktől fogva díztelenül Boldog szorongató dögletes igájából ki vévén újonnan kezünkben Ao 1740 Eszt[endőben] Nagy Boldog Asszony napján a faluban kint levő Templomot vissza adta, igaz Lelki esméret szerént nem képes egyébre ezen mennyei bölts Gondviselést magyarázni, hanem hogy ebben és ez által is ujobban az igaz vér

nélkül való Áldozatok-béli Isteni Tisztelete fel állíttassék, szentséges Nevének dicsérete kijebb terjesztessék s az ő Any[a]-Szentegyháza gyarpittattassék s Ő Sz[ent] Felségének. Kire nézve hogy ez bővebben és állandóbban fundamentumosabb gyökeret verhessen, kötelesnek ismervén magamat ő Szent Felségének számtalan sok jó teteménnyének s meg hálálhatatlan Malasztinak, s hogy méltatlan szolgálójával vigasztalását

s munkálkodását közleni és magában kegyesen meg tettzeni méltóztatott, ki telhetőképben való hála adására, tehát ezen Isteni Tiszteletnek buzgó s példás eszközeinek s oltára szolgálainak kik az oltárrol élnek vékony értékemhez képest teszem ilyen rendelkezésem: [...]

A Plébánusnak kötelessége tehát lészen:

1o Hogy mivel Isten Ő Sz[ent] Felsége az Eretnekség kezéből kezünkbe kegyesen bocsátotta a Templomot, annak meg ismert örökös hála adására akarom, hogy minden nap Sz[ent] Mise után a Jesus nevére való Lytaniák alatta irt 1. vagy 2. imádságotskáival – estve pedig azaz vetsernye vagy Lytaniák után a kösséggel a mint ki adatott magyarul imádkozván el mondassanak.

2o A Temetőbe lévő Boldog Aszszony Kápolnátskájában minden szombaton Szent Misét szolgáljon a Boldog Szűz makula nélkül való fogantatásának tisztelő emlékezetére, ha tsak valamely kiváltképben való akadály, így mint betegség vagy nagy innep nem lenne. Az Intentio pedig akaratjában légyen Plébánus Uramnak.

3o Minden Holnapnak ha lehet első, különben ha gátoltatás érkezne valamely szombatján

rollam s Istenben boldogult Uramtól lévő két Istenben kimult agazott familiákért a Torony alatt akarom az én intentiomra a Temetőben, hogy Sz[ent] Misét szolgáljon.

4o Isten a Kerelei Templomotskát kezünkbe adván mint Filialisban minden két hétben egy Sz[ent] Misét szolgáljon, az első Punctum szerént, maga intentioja szerént imádkozván, mint az első Punctumban neveztetett.

5o Ugrán addig is míg Isten a Templomot csudálatoson kezünkbe engedi egy oratoriumot egy ház végében csináltatván, minden két hét mulva egy Sz[ent] Misével által mennyen az első Punctumot observálván ebben is, de maga intentiójára.

6o A Temetőben lévő Kápolnában akarom és kívánom ezen intentio végebe vitessék, ezen Czinteremben fekvő M[é]l[tósá]g[o]s Familiák és minden Esztendőben Anniversalis Commemoriatiobeli Sz[ent] Misét szolgáljon T[iszte]lendő P[áter] Plébános Úr Octaváján omnium fidelium defunctorum, azon napra talán meg eshetnék valamely Privilegium a Lelkek szabadulásáért, vagy valamely áldást vagy butsut hozatni, talán nem lesz idegen dolog ha próbáltatik.

INSTRUCTIO

Tudom, s a jó Lelki esméret azt hozza magával, hogy minden igaz Lelki Atya azon igyekezik, hogy buzgobban elő mozdítsa az Isten dicséretét, s Lelkek buzgóságát, de sok idő folyása alatt találkozhatnék oly állapot, melyben az lehetne mentsége egynek vagy másnak, hogy írásban nem lévén a Rend-tartás, nem tudja miből álljon, így hogy el ne alugyon, reménlem emlékezetnek okáért bevett s el tökélt szokás és szándékom le írása nem lészen semmi Zelosus Lelki-atyának botránkoztatására, hogy így kívánom az idegeny atyafiaknak is példa-adásokra nézve.

A Kastélyban, minthogy a Fundamenti D[icsősé]ges Sz[ent] Pál Apostol tiszteletére tétettetett a Templomnak, azért Sz[ent] Pál fordulása napjára hozzattassék a Butsu, és a külső Templomból Processio jöjjön bé Sz[ent] Pál fordulása napján és a Devotio reggel, estve is itten végeztessék.

Kereszt járó héten a Processio egyik nap Ugrán, más nap Kerelőre, harmadik nap pedig a Boldog Aszszony Kápolnához mennyen, egyszer a kastélyból, máttzor a külső Templomból, mivel egyenlőképben mind a kettőt Templomnak tartom.

Tudom azt, hogy disztelenségnek (hathatos oka réa nem lévén) ha el nem mulatodnék itélné a Lelki-atyá, ha Szent Háromság napján Abosfalvai Processiot el mulatná, az Eretnekség és a Kösség épületére nézve. Ugy másokat is.

Ur napján pedig a szokás szerént való Solemnitással oltárok csinálásával, Kastélybeli Templomból mennyen ki a Processio, és oltároknál való szokott Devotio el végzésével térjen a külső Templomba vissza. Vasárnap a külső Templomból a mint most meg iratott Ugrára mennyen és ott tartassék a Solemnitas, Octaváján pedig, minthogy nem oly solemnis nap tsak

Processio járassék a Templom körül Sz. Pált. Énekes Mise a Szentség ki tételével legyen.

Azon nyolcz orakor estvéli harangozás után a Szentségről való Lytania fenn szóval a Kösséggel mondattassék Plébános Úr által, és egy kis Szentségről való imádsággal, ezek után az Angyali estvéli Üdvözet végzésével áldást adni a Szentséggel a népre. Egyik octávján Ur napjának, mint másutt jó szokásban lévő Papoktól dicséretesen tartatik, a Parochialis Templomban, azaz a külső Templomban, ha csak az Uraság külömben bizonyos okaira nézve nem kívánnya.

Szent Péter és Sz[ent] Pál napjára butsut hozatván a külső Templomban egy-ház napját akkor énekes Sz[ent] Mise előtt körül való Processioval és Praedicatioval tartván a Devotio el ne muljon.

Minthogy a külső Templomot Isten Nagy Boldog Aszszony napjára adta kezünkbe, tehát azon napot illendő Solemnitással tartani (ha csak valamely felé Processioval nem menyen butsura a Kösség) el ne mulassák, örök hála-ado emlékezetre nézve. Mise előtt lévő Templom kerülő Processioval Te Deum laudamus énekeltessek és Praedicatioval.

Az Kerelei Templomot Isten ő Sz[ent] Felsege el hagyattatás által Isten kezünkbe adván Sz[ent] István Király napjára (kit annak renováltunk) tiszteletére Butsut hozatván Processioval innét oda menvén mint más Egyház napján illő Solemnitás tartassék. Meg emlékeztvén örökös hála-ado Szívvel, hogy az napra tétettetett vala terminus a Sz[ent] Páli külső Templom vissza vételére az Eretneki sorstól, kinek meg maradása ditsőséges Anya sz[ent] Egy-ház gyarapito Magyar Apostolának tulajdonitván kívánok dedikálni is.

Ugy Ugrai Templomot, ha valaha Isten ingyen való Kegyelemből kezünkbe eresztén, kívánom Sz. Erzsébeth Özvegy Aszszony tiszteletére dedikáltassék, s napjára Butsut hozatván, mint elébb meg irattatott illő Solemnitás tartassék, innen Processioval menvén addig is az oratorium Sz[ent] Erzsébeth tiszteletére tartassék ebbéli Devotioval.

Noha Istenben boldogult Haller Gábor

kedves férjem Intentioja szerint a Temetőben Boldog Aszszony makula nélkül való fogantatásának tiszteletére a Templomotskát építettem, mindazonáltal, hogy hideg időre esvén azon nap, az népnek kedvezni kívánván, úgy más Boldog Aszszony körül béli Devotiotól el ne huzattassanak, azért determináltam Boldog Sz[ent] Szűz Rosariuma Tiszteletére, az az octobernek első vasárnapjára butsut hozatván Processioval ki menvén Solemnitással azon Innep tartassék oda ki, ösztönöm lévén arra, hogy ez a Sz[ent] Congregatio fel állittatván az Isten ditséretére gyarapodjék.

Ezen felyül tudom, hogy a meg irt s régen ki adott Dispositioim végbe vitettetnek, mind az által valamint eddig, de annyival is immár szorgalmatos gondot viseltessen a Templomokra annak kevés eszközeire maga is, noha Tiszteim vagy Posterioritassim tudom számba tartják, inspectiojában legyen, távoztatván minden disztelenséget, kárt, úgy a Mestert, Megye Biráját a Templomra, s annak minden helynek gondviselésére s takargatásaira, csinosgatására, öltöztetésére, renováltatására ösztönözze, ha külömbet tapasztal az Uraság hir tételével s akaratjával kár vagy gondviseltlenséget meg büntesse, ha szükség el is változtassa.

Minthogy a Mester ezen Deputatumon kívül mindeneknek szokás szerint harmadában részesül, valamik a Községtől jönnek bérbe a Paternek, azért a Közjot is előtte hordozván példájával s hivséges Lelki Szolgálatjával serénykedjék, mint a praespecificalt solemnitásokban hiba ne történnyék, Eső eleib[e] harangozzon idejében. A Templomra mindegy tiszta Szűz Leányra gondot viseljen, apolgassa, csinosgassa, conserválja. A Megye Birájával, vagy is Egy-ház fiával kit azért minunitáltam fiaim tettzéséig, hogy mindenekre, mind más vétkesek büntetésekre hiv szolgálja legyen Krisztus Anya-Sz[ent] Egy-házának, külömben se tselekedvén, hogy érdemek szerint büntetést ne vegyenek. Azért e képpen Ezeket el tökéltt erőss Szándékkal Istennek ajánlván örökre determináltam végső akaratom szerint fel bontathatatlanul Isten ditsőségére, Lelkek vigasztalására. [...]

Anexa 11.

**Dispoziția Klárei Károlyi către parohul din Sânpaul. intitulat „Instructio Devotionalis”.
21 ianuarie 1741. AARCAI, ACTGM, 395/b, cutia 1.**

Mivel az Ur Isten véghetetlen Irgalmasságából vigasztalást nyujtot Anya Szent egy házunknak s meg engedte hogy kezünkben visza jöjön Eretnék kézből Templomunk kiért Aldot legyen Szent neve hogy Arva Sorsomban ily vigasztalást adot Szent Nevének Tiszteletére gyarapítására, az Igaz hitben levőknek gerjesztésére és az Igaz hiten kívül lévőknél Idvesseges utra való vezérlésére hogy ennek mennél job buzgo telyesedése lehessen vagyok tellyes bizodalommal s tudom meg sem fogyatkozom az Itten Szolgáló Tisztelendő Attyám Uramék Istenes buzgoságában hogy minden ki telhető modgyait fel állítani az Istenes tiszteletnek elő mozditására az felyeb irt czélok szerint el nem mulatyák az mellyet szivessen is ajánlok hogy az Üdökhöz s népnek hajlandóságához alkalmaztassák, kérem s kívánom hogy minden nap Szent Mise után ha az Üdvösséges Jésus nevéül való lítánia nem mondattatik is leg aláb egy Regeli Imádság mondassék mellyel Intentio tételre s egyéb a féle lelki vigasztalásokra, Istenes dolgokra ebresztessék a nép s az Eretnékek edesitessenk, vonatassanak az Isteni Szolgálatra való meg jelenésre mivel az Szent Mise áldozatját ők nem tudgyák miben ályon Az Imádsággal ők is edesitetnek kivált ha hozájok lészen alkalmaztatva az minémük vannak az Pázmányban.

Ugy hasonlóan minden nap az Estvéli

Lítánia is folyon vagy ólykor az helyet valamely Soltár énekeltessek az Eretnékek edesítése kedvéért mivel nálók annak nagy Érdeme ugy nem tudatik es ugyan az Után akár Lítánia, akár Vecsernye vagy Magyar Soltár mondatik is ugyan csak Estvéli Imádságokból vagy más szép magyar imádság mondassék.

Azonban azon is tellyes Igyekezettel légyen az édes Tisztelendő Attyám Uram hogy midőn az üdő s az alkalmatosság engedi vagy az közlele essendő Szent bucsukra vagy ha oda nem lehet leg aláb Iten hol egyik s hol más Templomban de kivált az hegyen levő Böldogságos Szüz Templomában processiot Indicson ara a népet edesítve ösztönöze kivált az Boldogságos Szüz Ünnepin és Jeles napok el következő.

Mindenek felet leg nagyobb Jónak s vonatásra s gyarapodásra való eszköznek tapasztaltatik mind az Eretnékeknek, mind az Igaz hitben lévőknél nagy vigasztalására az házonkint való látogatás oktatás. Azért ha csak Egy házban egyszer is egy napon midőn az Üdő engedi kérem meg látogattassanak hogy az felyebb Irt Ok s Cél telyesedgyék. Rulam pedig Szegény bünösrül kérem Alázatosan az Édes Tisztelendő Attyám Uramékot kik Itten fognak szolgálni méltóztassanak Szent Áldozattyokban meg emlékezni mind éltében, mind holtóm után [...]

KÁROLYI KLÁRA'S ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE IN SÂNPAUL

(Summary)

his paper analyses the role of Klára Károlyi in the ecclesiastical life of Sânpaul extending the context to other similar activities of her aiming the strenghtening of the Catholic church on her estates (Baktalórántháza, Gheorghieni). It also examines her methods and the persons who served her as a model or helped achieve this goal.

The first act of church patronage of Klára Károlyi (1697–1750), the daughter of Sándor Károlyi and Krisztina Barkóczy and the wife

of (III.) Gábor Haller (1685–1723) was the construction of a votive chapel in Sânpaul – the estate centre of Haller family – in 1713, later transformed into the funeral chapel of the Haller family. It was built in gratitude for surviving a sleigh accident. This event was commemorated by the painting of the main altar of the chapel, known only from archive images, being completed by the representation of Immaculate Conception and anti-pestilential saints. Another votive painting of the chapel (today

in the Collection of Liturgical Objects of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Târgu Mureș), commissioned by Klára Károlyi in 1737 commemorated the survival of her brother, Ferenc Károlyi and her son, Gábor Haller in an unexpected Turkish attack near the fortress of Banja Luka (Serbia) during the Balkan campaign of Emperor Charles VI. This painting representing the the statue of the Virgin Mary of Mariazell and the battle near the fortress of Banja Luka has an almost identical pair in the parish church of Bakta (today Baktalórántháza).

Klára Károlyi became increasingly involved in the life of the churches on her estates following the early death of her husband, Gábor Haller in 1723.

The most important of Klára Károlyi's measures meant to favour the Catholic church in Sânpaul affecting the confessional structure of the population as well was the reconversion of the former parish church used at that time by the Reformats. This was not the only act of her of this kind: in 1731 she proceeded similarly in Bakta and in 1748 in Gheorgheni, where she had taken out from the usage

of Reformats the former parish churches.

The reconversion of the church in Sânpaul is commemorated by the inscription of another votive painting (currently also in Târgu Mureș) representing the copy of the icon from Mária-pócs. This describes the circumstances of this event in a slightly different way from the real events which can be reconstructed relying on the archival sources presented. Among the renovation of the church Klára Károlyi also took care of its equipment including the main altar depicting the patron saints of the church, St. Peter and Paul and two smaller side altars, in honour of St. Clare and Virgin Mary.

Although we did not have the opportunity to investigate the changes in the population and the confessional relations, the studied documents suggest that the actions of Klára Károlyi greatly influenced the history of Sânpaul and the surrounding settlements, Ogra (Marosugra), Chirileu (Kerelő), Cipău (Maroscsapó), Dileu Nou (Magyardellő), Valea Izvoarelor (Búzásbesenyő): Reformed parishes ceased to exist and – as a result of the migration of population – others were formed or strengthened.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE SCATTERING OF CĂLUGĂRENI'S FRANCISCAN RELICS*

Kisanna BARABÁS**

After the 1949 dissolution of the Franciscan monastery in Călugăreni, a mental asylum was established in its building. The believers' pastoral care and religious service was tended by Franciscan monks and priests of the diocese. They tried to make the best possible decisions regarding the storage and conservation of the objects of art preserved from the church's furniture and apparel. In several cases they tried to assure safer storage circumstances in other monasteries, but at the same time this led to the splitting up of an integral unit. The study follows up on the changing locations of some of the furniture and that of liturgical accessories (ceremonial objects, textiles, clothes) and presents the fate of those works of art that ended up in Târgu Mureș. By evoking the extraordinary wealth of the Franciscan past, the study aims at drawing attention to the importance of the settlement that is worthy of this legacy.

Keywords: Călugăreni, Franciscan Order, monastery, material heritage

Cuvinte cheie: Călugăreni, ordinul Franciscan, mănăstire, patrimoniu

In the September of 1855 bishop Lajos Haynald was a guest of Count Ferenc Toldalagi in his castle at Corunca. The Count showed the priest his family's portrait collection, and told him that one of his ancestors, seen on one of the portraits, was the founder of the Monastery of Călugăreni, but when the family converted to the Helvetian faith, they threw out his portrait from the monastery's sacristy. Bishop Haynald asked Franciscan Father Modestus Erős to look up the sources found in the archives at Călugăreni regarding the founder of the monastery, the details of the founding and the story of the previously mentioned portrait. At the beginning of the next year, the Father reported his findings to the Bishop, but found no information about the portrait. He assumed that if they indeed

held such a portrait at Călugăreni, then following their conversion they gave it back to the family, and also believed that the story of throwing out the portrait from the sacristy was more of a "made-up story to lay blame on the monks". Afterwards, the Bishop wrote a letter to Count Ferenc Toldalagi, who in his reply said that the painting found at Corunca is a 50-60 year old copy of the original that was at Călugăreni, and in which his ancestor can be found kneeling. The latter somehow ended up at Râciu, in the hands of Countess Lajosné Haller, born: Countess Mária Bornemisza, from whom his father bought the painting, and then, at last it became the property of his brother, Mihály Toldalagi.¹

The *historia domus* of the Franciscans from Călugăreni says the following about these

* I owe a great debt of gratitude towards those, who helped me with my studies, and identifying some of the items: P. Béla Bakó Fr. Pál OFM, Zsigmond Balla, Tímea Bata, Réka Bányai, Ft. Msgr. Dénes Csíki, Edina Gordán, Enikő Hegedűs, Márton László, Katalin Luffy, Ferenc Mihály, Erzsébet Muckenhaupt, P. János Urbán fr. Erik OFM, Csongor Vass. Special thanks go to Edina Gordán, Enikő Hegedűs and Zsolt Kovács for their great advice.

** Alba Iulia Archdiocese Archives` Collection Archives of Târgu Mureș, Târgu Mureș, kisanna2004@yahoo.co.uk

¹ ARCHIEPISCOPAL ARCHIVES, Bishop's Archives, Documents of the Bishop's Office, 3427/1855, 190/1856, 2992/1856.



Fig. 1. Print made in the Franciscan printing press of Șumuleu Ciuc, 1692. Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

paintings: “In Corunca, at sir Ferenc Toldalagi can be found the picture of elder Mihály Toldalagi in a frame that measures a fathom, seen in full figure, with the signature saying: »Portrait of Mihály Toldalagi, who was captain of Mureș County, Statuum Praeses of the Statutes and Orders, envoy of many Transylvanian monarchs to the Turkish Porte, 1646, taken after the kneeling portrait found in the cloister of Călugăreni.«² This painting, of which the one at Corunca was copied from, is currently in the hands of Count Mihály Toldalagi, at Murgești. The painting had come into the property of the family through Countess Haller Mária, the wife of Count Lajos Bornemisza from Râciu, whom the father of these two esteemed Counts, Count Zsigmond Toldalagi has bought it from. The painting looks like an altar painting, very

old itself, at which Mihály Toldalagi is kneeling, opposite of him his wife, Erzsébet Mihálcz, and his son, younger Mihály Toldalagi, between them there is a child in a cradle. Above them, on the altar is Anthony of Padua with the lily and the child Jesus, surrounded by angels offering flower garlands. At the bottom of the picture the following words are written with paint: Ex voto.”³ The painting is mentioned by Balázs Orbán as well, who believed it depicted the “cloister, with Mihály Toldalagi and his wife kneeling on both sides”, and that it was thrown out because the family belonged to the Reformed Church.⁴

The exciting story of the painting that depicted the couple, who played a very important role in buying the land and founding the monastery for Bosniac Franciscan monks⁵

² Cf. BIRÓ 2008, 170.

³ HD I, 115–116.

⁴ ORBÁN 1870, IV, 90.

⁵ See the story of the monastery's founding and building at: ORBÁN 1870, IV, 89–92; SCHEMATISMUS 1882, 143; KARÁCSONYI 1924, II, 273–277; P. GYÖRGY 1930, 278–293; KOVÁCS 2003, 156; LÁNGI–MIHÁLY 2004, 84; MEDGYESY–SCHMIKLI 2005, 240–257; P. BENEDEK 2005, 123–143; EMÖDI 2007, 385–391.

started the investigation, that was meant to catalogue the scattering of the heritage of the Franciscan monastery and church of Călugăreni. In the following we will briefly show the fate of the

order's scattered library and archive, and afterwards we will present the more significant travels of the liturgical objects and equipment that belonged there.

THE LIBRARY

In the second half of the 19th century Balázs Orbán mentions the following about the monastery's library: "as it is kept in great disarray, one can only catalogue its treasures after a great search."⁶ The library was extended in 1894 with another room, and the books were kept in different categories, depending on their aptitude.⁷ Lajos Kelemen, in his article from 1899 has already praised some of the values of the "newly" organized library from the first floor.⁸ Afterwards, in the 1940's the books were handled and organized by librarian magister P. Anaklét Gurzó and his novitiates.⁹ The *historia domus* reads the following about their work: "Our valuable library's rarities and books could not be used, because during the world war and the ensuing Romanian occupation due to the continuous harassment the library was in a total disorder, and the registry of the books was not done yet. [...] the previous organization of the library was done chronologically, and as such the books placed irrationally next to one another deteriorated a lot. These problems were addressed in the current reorganization of our library, which follows the Vatican Library's rules, and categorizes the books by their size, but has an organizational list based on the author, title, contents and year of the books, and that greatly increases the usability of the library. We think it's important to mention that at such

time we sorted out and placed the incunables, the old Hungarian library's books and the ones that were printed in the old Franciscan printing press in Șumuleu Ciuc, to better be able to preserve these valuables."¹⁰

Later on P. Anaklét Gurzó took a few volumes with him to the monastery of Odorheiu Secuiesc in order to preserve them; after 1990 these books ended up in the Franciscan monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc.¹¹ The books found in October 2000 at Călugăreni, in the northern aisle, in a bricked up space behind the Anthony of Padua altar, being in a bad shape were also brought here,¹² the colleagues of the Szekler Museum of Csík (Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului) conserved and restaured them.

After the dissolution of the order in 1949 the monastery housed a newly formed mental institute. The whole complex, along with the facilities and equipment and the order's library became state property. At the start of the 1950's the whole batch, containing manuscripts¹³ as well, was taken to the Teleki-Bolyai Library at Târgu Mureș; its catalogue is currently edited by Réka Bányai.¹⁴ Edina Gordán, when putting together the catalogue of the Franciscan Library of Dej from the 16th–17th century identified 15 volumes that were once the property of the Franciscan Monastery of Călugăreni.¹⁵ The work of Péter Pázmány ("Igazságra vezérlő kalauz") – the

⁶ ORBÁN 1870, IV, 91.

⁷ HD II, in the notes of the year 1894. Cf. TULIT 1995, 31.

⁸ KELEMEN 1982, 261.

⁹ At the call of the provincial, in 1944 a committee of four people developed a universal library registry plan; P. Anaklét Gurzó was member of the committee. See: GORDÁN 2011, 12.

¹⁰ HD II, notes on the happenings of 1943–1944.

¹¹ I owe thanks to Erzsébet Muckenhaupt for this information.

¹² See the protocol written on the 24th of October 2000.

¹³ TULIT 1995, 36.

¹⁴ See the collection's list from 1732 in ADATTÁR 19/3, 186–199; for short memo, see TULIT 1995, 29–39.

¹⁵ GORDÁN 2011, 26.

one that the archbishop gifted in 1625 to the monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc – was also found at Dej, and came from Călugăreni.¹⁶ In 2014 the National Museum of Bucharest returned

the Franciscan Parish of Dej those incunables taken for custody in 1971, of which 11 are the property of the Franciscan Monastery of Călugăreni.¹⁷

THE ARCHIVE

The 11 volumes of the monastery's archive, along with the library, were moved to the Teleki-Bolyai Library, and then, in the January of 1968 they were moved to their current home, the Romanian National Archives' Mureș County Office.¹⁸ The issue number 119, named "The Documents of the Franciscan Order of Călugăreni" contains 0.45 running meter of documents from 1773 to 1929. "The Collection of the Ecclesiastical Registers" also contains volumes from the years 1768–1908 that were nationalized from Călugăreni.¹⁹

The *historia domus* that contains the period from the monastery's founding up to 1877 is

kept at the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc, the volume containing the period from 1877 to 1990 is at Călugăreni. In the October of 2000, behind the altar of Saint Anthony they found archive volumes as well, along with the books mentioned above.²⁰

Retaining the original owner rights, in 2008–2009 we have placed archive records worth of 0.55 running meter of documents from the Călugăreni Parish archives in the Alba Iulia Archdiocese Archives' Collection Archives of Târgu Mureș, volumes from the years 1806 to 1991.²¹ Naturally, we have to count in some elusive archive units as well.

WORKS OF ART

After the nationalization the spiritual care of the believers at Călugăreni, the continuous church service was tended by the Franciscan Order members, and the diocesan priests. They also tried to best handle the conservation of the works of art. In many cases, these works were moved to other monasteries for safekeeping, but this also meant that the legacy was fragmented. In the following we try to follow the "migration" of some of the equipment, and the liturgical accessories (unawares, textiles, clothing etc.), and finally the group of works that ended up in Târgu Mureș.

The monastery church and its five altars were sanctified on the 11th of June 1692 by Bishop Jakub Dluszki of Bacău. The event was immortalized by a print made in the Franciscan printing press of Șumuleu Ciuc that was inserted in a decorative wooden frame, colored with metal (Fig. 1).²² The unique work can be seen on a photo published by P. József György in 1930, standing on the top of an altar drawer in the sacristy.²³ Later it was placed on the wall near the main altar. In the October of 2000, the vicar of the church community of Călugăreni has lent it temporarily to the Franciscan Monastery

¹⁶ GORDÁN 2012, 196.

¹⁷ I would like to thank Edina Gordán for this valuable piece of information. The incunables mentioned will be presented by Erzsébet Muckenhaupt and Edina Gordán in their ongoing study.

¹⁸ Romanian National Archive's Mureș County Office, issue number 119, inventory number 123.

¹⁹ Cf. PÁL-ANTAL 2014, 162, 241–242.

²⁰ See the protocol written on the 24th of October 2000.

²¹ BERNÁD-BARABÁS 2015, 100–101.

²² LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 86; MUCKENHAUPT 2007, 20–21, photo II–9.

²³ P. GYÖRGY 1930, 289 (photo).

of Șumuleu Ciuc.²⁴ The work of art, which was restaured by the colleagues of the Szekler Museum of Csík and Ferenc Mihály was shown at the exhibition entitled “Our rescued sacred relics”.²⁵ At present it can be seen at the church art exhibition of Alba Iulia.²⁶

For the purpose of our research, we can highlight from the renaissance equipment of the church from the later 17th and early 18th century²⁷ the main altar and the gallery. The main altar, sanctified in honor of King Saint Stephen²⁸ received a gift from Zsigmond Kornis in 1711, the copy of the holy statue from Mariazell. To further embellish the statue, empress Eleonora, widow of emperor Leopold I sent a silver crown as a gift.²⁹ At Călugăreni two copies of the statue from Mariazell were preserved. According to the asset-inventory from 1986,³⁰ these statues, branded asset nr. 422 and 426 were safeguarded in the sacristy. In the October of 2000, the vicar of the Călugăreni church community gave it for safekeeping to the Franciscan Monastery of Târgu Mureș.³¹ From Târgu Mureș these statues were moved to the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc. The artworks restaured by the colleagues of the Szekler Museum of Csík can be seen at the “Our rescued sacred relics” exhibition.³² The statue adorned by the silver crown is probably the same that Kornis donated (Fig. 2).³³

Presumably, the wooden painting of King David, found in the back of the main altar during renovations, was a part of the gallery's parapet.³⁴ In the October of 2000 this piece made its way to the Franciscan Monastery of Târgu Mureș as well,³⁵ afterwards fr. Pál OFM exposed it on



Fig. 2. The two copies of the statue from Mariazell, 18th century. Photo by Gyöngyvér Nagy, 2015.

the hallway of the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc.

The balusters of the communion parapet were found on the tower's first floor. It is here, and the side-gallery, where they keep the pieces of the refectory's painted woodworks as well. The wooden plats, adorned with Latin scripts can be seen in their original place on the photo published by P. József György in 1930.³⁶ The documentation made at the church renovation

²⁴ See the protocol written on the 24th of October 2000.

²⁵ KATALÓGUS 2006.

²⁶ HEGEDŰS 2009, 35.

²⁷ See detailed presentation in LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 84–87; KATALÓGUS 2010, 21.

²⁸ See photo in LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 86.

²⁹ KARÁCSONYI 1924, II, 275–276; KOVÁCS 2011, 302; MEDGYESY-SCHMIKLI 2005, 243.

³⁰ Kept at Călugăreni.

³¹ See the protocol written on the 10th of October 2000.

³² KATALÓGUS 2006. See the photos of the artworks in the same place.

³³ KATALÓGUS 2010, 24.

³⁴ LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 86, photo on page 85.

³⁵ See the protocol written on the 10th of October 2000.

³⁶ P. GYÖRGY 1930, 287 (photo).



Fig. 3. The cross shaped relic holder, 1741.
Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

in 1971³⁷ clearly shows, that previous to the nationalization, the plats from the dining room were taken, and hung up on the walls of the northern and southern aisles of the church, though some have been placed next to the side-altars' mensas.³⁸

From the metal-made liturgical accessories Lajos Kelemen mentions a late 16th century enamelled chalice and one that was gifted to the church in 1612, and also two bells from 1670 and 1680 in the monastery.³⁹ The chalices were not preserved, but the bell from 1670 is now being used to announce the beginning of the liturgy in the Franciscan Monastery-Church of Șumuleu Ciuc. During World War II the Russian soldiers took the patens of two chalices, and the cross from the top of the smaller ciborium.⁴⁰

The registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese's works of art state that the works from Călugăreni comprise of eight objects (a monstrance, a chalice, a paten, two censers, a mortar, a bell and an incense boat), and three sets of altar candlesticks.⁴¹

The Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc holds fourteen pieces of the Călugăreni legacy, mostly made of silver: four chalices (three are dated from 1713, one is from the 20th century), six patens (two from 1686, one from 1697, one from 1712, one dated in 1713, and the last one is probably from the early 18th century), a cross shaped relic holder (1741, Fig. 3), three ciboria (one dated from 1690, shaped in the 19th century, one from the 19th, and the last from the beginning of the 20th century).⁴² One paten from 1696 is kept at the Parish of Sângeorgiu de Mureș.⁴³

József Huszka made some aquarelle paintings of the textiles found in the Franciscan Monastery of Călugăreni during his trip in 1881. His collection holds a piece from a tablecloth from the 18th century.⁴⁴ We hold precious data about the contemporary rich textile collection thanks to the article of Lajos Kelemen, published in 1899. Along with the university professor, Dr. Lajos Szádeczky, the two have approached

³⁷ ARCHIEPISCOPAL ARCHIVES, Collections, Plans Archives, Construction and Renovation Plans for Church Buildings, 1971, 7. box, Călugăreni (155). For the 1972 church restoration see BARABÁS 2008–2010, 265.

³⁸ Based on the verbal recollection of curator Zsigmond Balla.

³⁹ KELEMEN 1982, 261–262.

⁴⁰ HD II, at the records on the years 1944–1947.

⁴¹ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese, the objects hold the registry numbers XI.19.00.001–XI.19.00.008, XI.19.00.030, XI.19.00.033, XI.19.00.034.

⁴² In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese, the objects hold the registry numbers XIII.09.00.014–014a, XIII.09.00.021, XIII.09.00.029–029a, XIII.09.00.034, XIII.09.00.123–XIII.09.00.130. Many of the object descriptions have reference to a conveying registry from 1994.

⁴³ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry number: XI.10.00.008.

⁴⁴ FEJŐS 2006, 111–112, 298.



Fig. 4. Embroidery fragment, 1743. Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

the Franciscans while preparing for the Paris World Expo of 1900, and found that the monks held around 100 valuable textile pieces in the sacristy's drawers. The altar covers and cloths were still in use at that time. Most of them were in good condition, although some were marked by the passing of time. They found but two that had inscriptions embroidered: one altar cover had „Holy Trinity” inscribed twice on it, the other one was donated by Ersebeth Megyesi in the June of 1746 as a tribute to Saint Anthony. Examining the patterns Kelemen and Szádeczky considered that most embroideries were made in the 17–18th century, some of them in the 16th century, and of course, some were from the 19th century.⁴⁵ A part of the embroideries ended up in the museum of the Transylvanian Carpathian Society (Erdélyi Kárpát Egyesület),⁴⁶ as such, it is possible that the folklore and history museums in Cluj Napoca still hold some of these works.

The registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese's works of art state mention four embroidery fragments from Călugăreni. One of these has the year 1743 inscribed in royal embroidery (Fig. 4), the other, also from around the year 1740 has names of saints inscribed on it in two rows.⁴⁷

The liturgical clothing, for which guardian and prefect Antal Schirmer already made a large cabinet in the sacristy in 1711,⁴⁸ suffered greatly during World War II: when the Russian soldiers devastated the church equipment, they ripped out all the lining from the chasubles.⁴⁹ From the vast amount of clothing, a few were moved in 2000 to the Franciscan Monastery of Târgu Mureș, and afterwards to Dej, sadly this led to the separation of pieces that belonged together. During the assortment two pieces remained at the Second Parish of Târgu Mureș, these pieces were moved to the Church Art Collection of Târgu Mureș in May 2017.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ KELEMEN 1982, 260–261.

⁴⁶ KELEMEN 1977, 175, 259.

⁴⁷ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese, the embroideries hold the registry numbers XI.19.00.009, XI.19.00.016, XI.19.00.023, XI.19.00.026. Cf. LÁSZLÓ 1993, 129, 131–132.

⁴⁸ KARÁCSONYI 1924, II, 275.

⁴⁹ HD II, at the records on the years 1944–1947.

⁵⁰ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry numbers XI.19.00.044 and XI.19.00.048.



Fig. 5. The golden infula. Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

The survey and cataloguing of the materials still left at Călugăreni is still ongoing.

Here we note the personal objects of Kázmér Damokos (bishop's hat, vestments, gloves, detachable ebony crosier⁵¹), which were held in the sacristy with great devotion. During Lajos Kelemen's visit they concluded that the lining of one of the bishop's hats was a codex fragment; as such they removed it, after its restoration they wanted to expose it in the monastery's library.⁵² The incomplete ten commandment explanation ended up in the manuscript archive of the Transylvanian Museum Society (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület), presently it can be found

in the University Library of Cluj Napoca (under the number MS 224).⁵³ During the Second World War P. Anaklét tried to save the bishop's belongings, by giving them to a pious villager, but later forgot to whom. In 1985, after ample searching their safeguard came forward. P. Marián Bodosi exposed bishop Kázmér Damokos' two infulas, two shoes, a red biretta, half of a stocking, and the worshippers could see these in the sacristy. The exposed objects were photographed, and afterwards Bodosi placed them safely in the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc.⁵⁴ Presently the golden and the red infula (Fig. 5) are kept at Șumuleu Ciuc.⁵⁵

Of the objects that served the relic worship, and were easily lost, two were placed from the sacristy of the church in Călugăreni to the Church Art Collection of Târgu Mureș in 2009: János Kökövics's pilgrimage-box from the Holy Land from the late 1800s⁵⁶, and a ragged textile, with the Veronica Cloth imprint from the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁷ The relic holding pictures, altar embellishing fragments from the 18th century⁵⁸ still left at Călugăreni are also waiting for restoration.

The group of artworks that arrived to the Franciscan Monastery of Târgu Mureș in October 2000 deserves special attention. The handover-reception records speak of multiple objects: four wooden paintings found behind the main altar during the renovation of the monastery-church (Abraham, Last Supper, Saint Peter, King David), a wooden cross painted on both sides, four wooden statues (Resurrection, two Madonnas and Saint Joseph), a procession cross,⁵⁹ an uninscribed altar stone, a silver censer, a lantern used when visiting the sick, a copper crucifix from the 1670s, and a number of liturgical clothing.⁶⁰ Of the objects enumerated

⁵¹ ORBÁN 1870, IV, 91; P. GYÖRGY 1930, 282, 491.

⁵² KELEMEN 1982, 261.

⁵³ KELEMEN 2010, 19–20.

⁵⁴ HD II, at the records of the year 1985.

⁵⁵ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese, the infulas have the registry numbers XIII.09.00.147 and XIII.09.00.148.

⁵⁶ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry number: XI.19.00.040. BARABÁS 2009, 22.

⁵⁷ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry number: XI.19.00.041.

⁵⁸ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry numbers: XI.19.00.010, XI.19.00.028–XI.19.00.029.

⁵⁹ See on the photo made of the sacristy's altar drawer: LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 85.

⁶⁰ See the protocol written on the 10th of October 2000.



Fig. 6. The Last Supper. Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

above we have already spoken about the painting of King David, the two Madonnas – the two copies of the statue from Mariazell, and the liturgical clothing. The object called “Abraham” in the records, a Holy Trinity-Icon, and the copper crucifix is currently in the cell of fr. Pál OFM in the Franciscan Monastery of Cluj Napoca. The Resurrection statue⁶¹ found its way

back to Călugăreni; the Saint Joseph statue got completely deteriorated at Târgu Mureș; the silver censer was stolen.⁶²

The Last Supper (Fig. 6) wooden plank painting and the one depicting Saint Peter, the wooden cross painted on both sides (Fig. 7), the procession cross and the lantern were all taken to Șumuleu Ciuc by fr. Pál OFM, and

⁶¹ In the registry of the Alba Iulia Archdiocese with the registry number: XI.19.00.011.

⁶² Based on the verbal recollection of Fr. Pál OFM.



Fig. 7. The wooden cross painted on both sides.
Photo by Enikő Hegedűs, 2015.

with the exception of the latter, he exposed them on the corridors of the Franciscan Monastery.⁶³ Because of the unusual technique used on the two wooden paintings (Last Supper, Saint Peter),⁶⁴ we can only rely on the words of an entry from the Franciscan *historia domus* from 1943 to determine their origins: “serious steps were taken to gather the antiques and artifacts from the cloister. In the room next to the library we have gathered all of the old objects, Kázmér Domokos’s two bishop’s infulas, bishop’s shoes and stocking, our chalices, the Mary picture found in the cloister that can be traced back to the 14th century, the late Dr. valiant

Pius Szabó camp vicar’s two huge icons, that he brought from Russia, many smaller Russian Mary-portraits, a *tabula ansata* Roman brick found at the outskirts of the village, a small Roman ceramic vase, an old lance found by Ferenc M. Janka in his attic (barn), an inscribed Roman tombstone, of which the Archeological Institute of Debrecen ascertained that it belonged to a Celtic soldier in the service of the Roman army, and that belonged originally to widow Jánosné Lokodi.”⁶⁵ The two “huge Russian icons” mentioned in the previous entry probably refer to the two wooden paintings: it seems these were not brought to Călugăreni by the Bosnian Franciscan monks in the early 17th century.⁶⁶

At last, we have to mention the moving of the Franciscan Monastery’s carved wooden gate (made in 1673) at the beginning of the 20th century. The gate attracted the attention of both Balázs Orbán and Lajos Kelemen as well.⁶⁷ Gábor Szinte captured it on photograph during his tour in 1900, one year later he made a pen-drawing of it, and he suggested in his writing that it should be taken to a museum. The Museum of Ethnography of Budapest bought it in 1913. After the scrapping in 1965, only a few parts remained: a lintel, 80 nails from different eras and the left gate leg.⁶⁸

As can be seen by the detailed review from above, the material heritage of the Franciscan order from Călugăreni has been splintered to various places. Part of these objects was preserved, the other, not quantifiable part was destroyed, or still waiting to be unearthed. Our inquiry into the incredibly rich Franciscan past tries to raise the awareness of the importance of proper recording and archiving of this heritage.

⁶³ Here we can find four wood paintings that were sawed circularly (two Johns, and a Saint Mary/Magdalene?), and also a crucifix with a corpus made by the same technique. According to Fr. Pál OFM these objects also originate from Călugăreni, presumably from the chapel of Saint John. In the inventory made in 1986 there appears to be a painted crucifix among the chapel’s accessories.

⁶⁴ LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 84–85, the picture of the Saint Peter painting is on page 86.

⁶⁵ HD II, at the records on the years 1943–1944.

⁶⁶ Cf. LÁNGI-MIHÁLY 2004, 84.

⁶⁷ ORBÁN 1870, IV, 92; KELEMEN 1982, 262.

⁶⁸ BATA-TASNÁDI 2015, 32; HD II, at the records on the years 1911–1912 and 1912–1913.

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HD I

Historia domus of Călugăreni from the founding of the monastery up to 1877, kept at the Franciscan Monastery of Șumuleu Ciuc.

HD II

Historia domus of Călugăreni 1877–1990, kept at Călugăreni.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AARGNews</i>	Aerial Archaeology Research Group Newsletter
<i>Acta</i>	Acta. Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>ActaArchHung</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
<i>ActaMB</i>	Brukenthal. Acta Musei, Sibiu/Hermannstadt
<i>ActaMN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ActaMoldMer</i>	Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Vaslui
<i>ActaMP</i>	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău
<i>ActaMT</i>	Acta Materialia Transylvanica. Technical Sciences Department of the Transylvanian Museum Society, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár
<i>ActaPraehistA</i>	Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica
<i>ActaSic</i>	Acta Siculica, Sf. Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy
<i>ActaTS</i>	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
<i>AISC</i>	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice Cluj
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>Aluta</i>	Aluta. Studii și cercetări
<i>AmJPhysAnthropol</i>	American Journal of Physical Anthropology
<i>AnatRec</i>	Anatomical Record. American Association of Anatomists
<i>Angustia</i>	Angustia. Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe
<i>AnMuzOlt</i>	Anuarul Muzeului Olteniei
<i>AnnForRes</i>	Annals of Forest Research
<i>AnnHN</i>	Annales Historico-Naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici, Budapest
<i>Ansachs</i>	Archäologie in Niedersachsen
<i>AnthrK</i>	Anthropológiai Közlemények, Budapest
<i>Antiquity</i>	Antiquity. A Quarterly Review of Archaeology
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia
<i>ArchAust</i>	Archaeologia Austriaca
<i>ArchBulg</i>	Archaeologia Bulgarica, Sofia
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
<i>ArchHist</i>	Archaeologia Historica, Brno
<i>ArchHung</i>	Archaeologia Hungarica, Budapest
<i>ArchKorr</i>	Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz
<i>ArchPol</i>	Archaeologia Polona,
<i>Areopolisz</i>	Areopolisz. Történelmi és társadalomtudományi tanulmányok, Székelyudvarhely
<i>Argesis</i>	Argesis. Studii și comunicări, Pitești
<i>ASz</i>	Agrártörténeti Szemle
<i>AusgrFuWestf</i>	Ausgrabungen und Funde in Westfalen-Lippe

<i>AVes</i>	Arheološki vestnik, Ljubljana
<i>BÁMÉ</i>	A Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<i>Banatica</i>	Banatica, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
<i>BAR (I.S./B.S.)</i>	British Archaeological Reports, International Series / British Series, Oxford
<i>BerRGK</i>	Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission
<i>BMI</i>	Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice, București
<i>BMJT (S.A.)</i>	Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman (Seria Arheologie), Alexandria
<i>BuletinCIVA</i>	Buletinul Cercului de Istorie Veche și Arheologie „Vladimir Dumitrescu”, Sibiu
<i>BulletinPeabody</i>	Bulletin of the Peabody Museum of Natural History
<i>CA</i>	Cercetări Arheologice
<i>CCAR</i>	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România
<i>CommArchHung</i>	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae, Budapest
<i>Cumania</i>	Cumania. A Bács-Kiskun Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kecskemét
<i>CurrSwedA</i>	Current Swedish Archaeology
<i>CsSzME</i>	Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Csíkszereda
<i>Dacia (N. S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), București; Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
<i>DissArch</i>	Dissertationes Archaeologicae ex Instituto Archaeologico Universitatis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Budapest
<i>DolgKolozsvar (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár
<i>DolgSzeged</i>	Dolgozatok a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régiségtudományi Intézetéből, Szeged
<i>Drobeta</i>	
<i>EJA</i>	European Journal of Archaeology
<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
<i>FI</i>	File de Istorie. Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița
<i>FolAnt</i>	Folia Anthropologica, Szombathely
<i>FolArch</i>	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest
<i>Gallia</i>	Gallia. Fouilles et monuments archéologiques en France metropolitaine
<i>Georeview</i>	Georeview. Scientific Annals of Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava, Geography Series
<i>Germania</i>	Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>Hierasus</i>	Hierasus. Muzeul Județean Botoșani
<i>HOMÉ</i>	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve, Miskolc
<i>HTRTE</i>	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, Déva
<i>HZ</i>	Historische Zeitschrift
<i>IJOsteo</i>	International Journal of Osteoarchaeology
<i>Istros</i>	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei
<i>JAHA</i>	Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology

<i>JAMÉ</i>	A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza
<i>JASc</i>	Journal of Archaeological Science
<i>JAT</i>	Journal of Ancient Topography – Rivista di Topografia Antica
<i>JbAS</i>	Jahrbuch Archäologie Schweiz
<i>JbRGZM</i>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz
<i>JCerEnvD</i>	Journal of Ceramics and Environmental Design
<i>JHumEvol</i>	Journal of Human Evolution
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
<i>JOM</i>	JOM. The Journal of The Minerals, Metals & Materials Society
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRomPotSt</i>	Journal of Roman Pottery Studies
<i>JSchrVgHalle</i>	Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte Halle (Saale)
<i>KJb</i>	Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte
<i>KM</i>	Keresztény Magvető. Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Folyóirata, Kolozsvár
<i>KRRMK</i>	A Kaposvári Rippl-Rónai Múzeum Közleményei
<i>KuBA</i>	Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica
<i>Levant</i>	Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History
<i>MacActaA</i>	Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica, Prilep
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale, Târgu Mureș
<i>Marisia-AHP</i>	Marisia: Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium, Târgu Mureș
<i>MCA</i>	Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
<i>MFME</i>	A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged
<i>MMMK</i>	A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei
<i>MTAK (II)</i>	A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-Történeti Tudományok Osztályának Közleményei (1950–1966), A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Filozófiai és Történettudományi Osztályának Közleményei (1966–1981)
<i>NMMÉ</i>	Nógrád Megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve, Salgótarján
<i>OxfJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Stuttgart
<i>ProblemeKfsNsg</i>	Probleme der Küstenforschung im südlichen Nordseegebiet
<i>ProcPrehistSoc</i>	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society
<i>PZ</i>	Praehistorische Zeitschrift
<i>RCRFA</i>	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta, Tongeren
<i>RevBis</i>	Revista Bistriței, Complexul Județean Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud
<i>Sargetia (S.N.)</i>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Deva
<i>SCA</i>	Studii și Cercetări Antropologice
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–), București
<i>SlovArch</i>	Slovenská Archeológia, Bratislava
<i>SMMK</i>	A Somogy Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Kaposvár
<i>StAntArch</i>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>Starinar</i>	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd

<i>StCercNum</i>	Studii și cercetări de numismatică, București
<i>StComSM</i>	Studii și Comunicări Satu Mare
<i>StComVrancea</i>	Vrancea. Studii și comunicări, Focșani
<i>StudiaAA</i>	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>SUBB-Historia</i>	Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, series Historia, Cluj-Napoca
<i>Századok</i>	Századok, A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata, Budapest
<i>Terra Sebus</i>	Terra Sebus, Acta Musei Sabesiensis, Sebeș
<i>Thraco-Dacica</i>	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul de Arheologie „Vasile Pârvan” Centrul de Tracologie, București
<i>Tyragetia</i>	Tyragetia. The National Museum of History of Moldova, Chișinău
<i>UPA</i>	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn
<i>VAH</i>	Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
<i>VMMK</i>	A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei, Veszprém
<i>WMMÉ</i>	A Wosinsky Mór Múzeum Évkönyve, Szekszárd
<i>ZBf</i>	Zeitschrift für Balkanforschung

MARISIA. ARCHAEOLOGIA, HISTORIA, PATRIMONIUM

With a publishing tradition since 1965, in 2019 the annual of the Mureș County Museum initiated a new series entitled: **Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium**. The publication provides a panel for new research results in archeology, architecture and material heritage of the history of arts and culture. The studies mainly focus on the inner Transylvanian region that encompasses also Mureș County. Beyond local valuable contributions, the annual aims at a regional and global concern that is relevant for the whole of Transylvania. Among the annual's missions is to provide mutual interpretation of the research results produced by the Romanian and Hungarian scientific workshops. Therefore, the annual articles are mainly in English but based on the field of research and the approached topic studies in German, Romanian or Hungarian are also accepted.

Cu o tradiție din anul 1965, anuarul Muzeului Județean Mureș s-a relansat în 2019 sub titlul **Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium**. Această publicație se descrie ca o platformă științifică care cuprinde rezultatele cercetărilor în domenii precum: arheologia, arhitectura și patrimoniul material din zona istoriei artelor și a culturii, studii localizate în regiunea centrală a Transilvaniei, din care face parte județul Mureș. In *extenso*, anuarul își propune să ofere un spațiu unitar contribuțiilor științifice valoroase, relevante din perspectiva geografică a ceea ce înseamnă întreaga regiune a Transilvaniei. Una dintre misiunile publicației este aceea de a oferi tuturor celor interesați spațiul de schimb pentru cele mai noi rezultate din atelierele științifice românești și maghiare. Articolele anuarului sunt scrise în general în limba engleză, existând totodată articole scrise în germană, română și maghiară, în funcție de specificul domeniului și a temei abordate.

A Maros Megyei Múzeum 1965 óta megjelenő évkönyvének 2019-ben útjára bocsátott új sorozata, a **Marisia. Archaeologia, Historia, Patrimonium** elsősorban a mai Maros megyét is magába foglaló belső-erdélyi régió régészeti, épített és tárgyi örökségére, nemkülönben az ezekhez kapcsolódó művészettörténeti, művelődéstörténeti kérdésekre vonatkozó újabb kutatások tudományos fóruma. A lokális perspektíván túl igyekszik kitekinteni a regionális és univerzális összefüggésekre, így a tágan értelmezett Erdély területére nézve is közöl kiemelkedő értékkel bíró tanulmányokat. Küldetésének tekinti a hazai román és magyar tudományos műhelyekben született eredmények kölcsönös tolmácsolását. A dolgozatok nyelve főként az angol, de szakterülettől és témától függően német, román vagy magyar nyelven is közöl írásokat.

